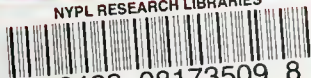


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Battle of Lake Erie

"If a Victory is to be Gained, I'll Gain it."

—Oliver Hazard Perry

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OUR COUNTRY

A History of the United States
from the Discovery of America
to the Present Time ✎ ✎ ✎

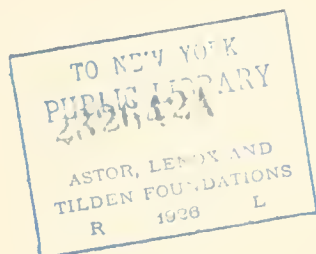
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CHAPTER CXVIII.

Confederates in Virginia—National Troops in Western Virginia—McClellan's Campaign—Secessionists Repressed in Baltimore—Confederate Privateers—Troops near Washington—Manassas Junction—Patterson Crosses the Potomac—Movements of National Troops—Battle at Blackburn's Ford—Battle of Bull's Run and Its Effects—War in the West—General Lyon's Campaign—Military Operations in Missouri—Death of Lyon—Union Movement—Movements of a Disloyal Governor.

THE gathering of Confederate troops at Manassas, under Beauregard, required prompt and vigorous action on the part of the Government. The main Confederate army was there. Johnston was at Winchester, with a large body, ready to reinforce Beauregard at any moment, unless prevented by General Patterson, who was at Martinsburg early in July, with eighteen thousand Nationals, keenly watching the movements of the Confederates. From their grand encampment at Manassas, the latter had sent out detachments along the line of the Upper Potomac from Georgetown to Leesburg, menacing various points, and foraging. At Vienna they had a severe skirmish (June 17) with an Ohio regiment, and were repulsed; and there the flag of the "Sovereign State of South Carolina" was first seen on a battle-field. The Confederates soon returned and took possession of Vienna and Falls Church Village, and the latter became famous for stirring scenes afterward. It was ten days after this event that Captain Ward of the *Freeborn*, was killed at Matthias Point.

The Confederates now put forth all their available strength to hold the mountain regions of Virginia. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was guarded by National troops; and about twenty thousand of these from Ohio, Indiana and Virginia, were at Grafton, under the command of General George B. McClellan, at the beginning of July. Porterfield had been superseded by General R. S. Garnett, in command of the Confederate forces in Western Virginia, with his headquarters at Beverly and outlying posts at Bealington, Philippi, Buckhannon, and Romney. In the Great Kanawha region, a considerable body of Confederates were led by Ex-Governor H. A. Wise, where he was confronted by Ohio troops under General J. D. Cox. At the same time McClellan began offensive operations. He led ten thousand men to attack Garnett at Laurel Hill, near Beverly; and sent four thousand

men under General T. A. Morris toward the same point, by way of Philippi. Another body under General Hill was sent to a point eastward of Philippi, to prevent the escape of the insurgents over the Alleghany Mountains to join Johnston at Winchester.

When the Nationals approached Garnett's position, it was ascertained that Colonel John Pegram, with a considerable body of Confederates, was strongly intrenched in Rich Mountain Gap in the rear of his chief. McClellan immediately dispatched Colonel (afterward General) W. S. Rosecrans, with a body of Ohio and Indiana foot soldiers and a troop of cavalry, in light marching order, to dislodge Pegram. By a circuitous and perilous mountain march in the darkness, and under a heavy rain-storm, they made their way to the top of a ridge of Rich Mountain, above Pegram's camp and only a mile from it (July 11, 1861); but they were not unobserved. Pegram had discovered their approach, and now attacked them furiously with nine hundred men armed with muskets and cannon. A severe engagement ensued. The Confederates were repulsed; and for his gallantry on that occasion Rosecrans was commissioned a brigadier-general.

The National troops were in a perilous situation on Rich Mountain, for Pegram confronted them with an overwhelming force. McClellan had heard the sounds of battle, and pushed forward with troops for their relief. Pegram did not wait to be attacked, but stole away in the night, and so uncovered Garnett's rear. Advised of this fact, Garnett also withdrew in the darkness, leaving most of his cannon, tents and wagons behind, and fled toward Huttonsville. Headed off by McClellan, his forces were scattered in the mountains of the Cheat River region. Meanwhile Pegram and six hundred of his followers had surrendered (July 14) to McClellan. The other fugitives were pursued by General Morris, accompanied by Captain H. W. Benham (McClellan's chief engineer), and were overtaken at Carricksford, on a branch of the Cheat River. There a sharp engagement occurred, when Garnett was killed and his forces were dispersed. Another portion of Garnett's troops had fled toward Staunton, pursued to the summit of the Cheat Range, where an Indiana regiment established an outpost. Meanwhile Cox had driven Wise out of the Kanawha region, and at the middle of July (1861) the war in Western Virginia seemed to be at an end. On the 19th, McClellan said, in a despatch to the War Department, "We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is about thirteen killed and not more than forty wounded; while the enemy's loss is not far from two hundred killed; and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least one thousand. We have captured seven of the guns of the enemy, in all."

The Confederates were not disposed to abandon the granary that would supply Eastern Virginia, without another struggle. General Robert E. Lee succeeded Garnett in the chief command in that region. John B. Floyd, the treacherous National Secretary of War, had succeeded Wise as a leader; but he, too, was now superseded by a better man, and after awhile the war in the mountain region of Virginia was renewed. McClellan had been called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was succeeded in Western Virginia by General Rosecrans.

At the beginning of June, it was manifest that a powerful combination of Secessionists in Baltimore were preparing to act with the armed insurgents in Virginia, in efforts to seize the National capital. The Legislature of the State were in sympathy with the Confederates, and a committee of that body assured Jefferson Davis that the people of Maryland were with him in sentiment. The National Government took energetic measures to avert the evil. General N. P. Banks was appointed to the command of the Department of Annapolis, with his headquarters in Baltimore; and he was so satisfied of a conspiracy ripening there, that he sent a force of armed men into the city, who arrested Chief of Police Kane and put him into Fort McHenry. At the same time Banks proclaimed that he had appointed Colonel (afterward General) John R. Kenly, of the First Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, provost-marshal. Kenly was a well-known and highly respected citizen of Baltimore, and acted with wisdom and energy. He was put at the head of the Police Department; but the old Board of Police Commissioners, who were Secessionists, refused to acknowledge him and defied the Government. They were arrested and sent as prisoners of State to Fort Warren in Boston harbor, and very soon afterward the Unionists of Maryland were encouraged to assert their loyalty. Banks withdrew the troops, and thereafter Maryland was justly counted one of the loyal States of the Union; yet for three years the Confederates were deceived by a belief that the people were Secessionists at heart. But the delusion was dispelled when, in 1863, General Lee invaded the State, set up his standard, and expected thousands would rally around it. On the contrary, he lost manifold more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting.

We have observed that Jefferson Davis issued commissions to privateers, and that a Confederate naval bureau was established. The first vessel of the Confederate navy was named the *Lady Davis*; and when the National Congress assembled on the 4th of July, there were no less than twenty Confederate armed vessels afloat and depredating upon the commerce of the United States. So early as the 1st of June they had sent twenty vessels, captured on the sea, into the port of New Orleans alone, as prizes. One of

these privateers (the *Savannah*) was captured, and her crew were tried and condemned as pirates; but the Government found it expedient to treat them as prisoners of war. Another (the *Petrel*) went out of Charleston harbor and mistaking the United States frigate *Lawrence* for a richly-laden merchantman, attempted to capture her. She opened her ports, and instantly the *Petrel* became a wreck. A flash of fire, a thunder-peal, the crash of timbers and engulfment in the sea, was the experience of a minute for her crew, four of whom were drowned, while the vessel went swiftly to the bottom of the ocean. Other privateers active during the war will be noticed hereafter.

It was now midsummer, 1861. A large body of troops were gathered around the National capital. General Irwin McDowell was in command of the Department of Virginia, with his headquarters at Arlington House. At Manassas Junction, about half way between the eastern range of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac at Alexandria, and thirty miles from Washington, were about forty thousand Confederate troops. It was considered the strongest military position between Washington and Richmond, and is connected with the capital of Virginia and the fertile Shenandoah Valley by railways. It was fortified by strong redoubts on which were mounted heavy Dahlgren guns, which the insurgents had seized at the Gosport Navy-yard, and these were managed by naval officers who had deserted their flag. At Winchester, Johnston had almost as strong a force, to prevent McClellan and his troops issuing from the mountain region and joining Patterson on the Potomac.

The loyal people had become impatient because of the delay of the troops at the capital in moving against the insurgents. They were delighted when, on the afternoon of the 16th of July, the telegraph spread the news over the land that fifty thousand soldiers, under General McDowell, had begun to move toward Manassas, leaving fifteen thousand behind to guard the capital. They were in five divisions, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Daniel Tyler and Theodore Runyon, and Colonels David Hunter, Samuel P. Heintzelman, and Dixon S. Miles. The Confederate forces against whom they moved were distributed along Bull's Run, a tributary of the Occoquan, from Union Mills, where the Orange and Alexandria Railway crosses the stream, to the stone-bridge on the Warrenton turnpike, a distance of about eight miles, with reserves near Manassas Junction. They also had an outpost at Centreville, and slight fortifications at Fairfax Court-House, ten miles from their main army, in the direction of Washington.

General Patterson was at Martinsburg, charged with the duty of keep-

ing General Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard. He had crossed the Potomac at Williamsport on the 2d of July; and near Falling Waters, his advance-guard under Colonel Abercrombie, chiefly composed of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania troops, horse and foot, with a section of a battery, encountered Johnston's advance led by "Stonewall" Jackson, assisted by J. E. B. Stuart and his afterward famous cavalry corps. They fought sharply for half an hour, when Colonel George H. Thomas's brigade, coming to the support of Abercrombie, caused the Confederates to flee. They were hotly pursued five miles, when a heavy Confederate force appearing, the chase was abandoned. On the following day General Patterson and his army entered Martinsburg, and were speedily reinforced by troops under General Sandford of New York. There he remained in enforced inaction for a fortnight.

The aged General Scott was too feeble in mind and body to take command in the field, and that imbecility caused disaster. The duty devolved upon General McDowell. The latter ordered General Tyler to advance to Vienna on the evening of the 16th of July; and early the next morning the remainder of the army moved in four columns, with the intention, by making feints, to throw the Confederates off their guard, gain their rear, seize the railway, and compel both Beauregard and Johnston to fall back from their positions, so menacing to the seat of Government. But spies and traitors, yet swarming in Washington, kept Beauregard continually advised not only of the movements, but of the intentions of the National troops. There were traitors, evidently, in possession of the secrets of the office of the General-in-Chief, for a copy of a military map was found in a deserted Confederate camp only two days after the original was completed.

McDowell's columns moved by different roads, without much opposition. They entered the village of Fairfax Court-House unopposed; and when they approached Centreville, the Confederates fled. The Nationals were in high spirits, for it appeared as if the march to Richmond would be a pleasant excursion. But Beauregard was alluring them into a perilous position, as they found, on the 18th, when General Tyler made a reconnoissance in force at Blackburn's Ford, on Bull's Run, which was guarded by General James Longstreet with a strong force of men and concealed batteries. A severe conflict ensued, in which Michigan, Massachusetts, and New York troops, with Ayers's battery, were engaged. At length the Nationals, defeated, withdrew to Centreville; and McDowell was satisfied that his plan for gaining the rear of the Confederates was impracticable.

The affair at Blackburn's Ford revealed the strength of the Confederates, and McDowell perceived the necessity for an immediate and vigorous attack

upon the enemy, for the term of enlistment of about ten thousand of his troops was about to expire. He then had thirty-five thousand men under his immediate command. These were massed around Centreville ready to move; but for want of needed supplies they were detained until the close of the 20th, when the army had begun to melt away from the cause just mentioned.

At two o'clock the next morning (July 21, 1861) the troops moved from Centreville in three columns, the moon shining brightly, to attack the left flank of the Confederates. General Tyler, with the brigades of Schenck and Sherman, and the batteries of Ayres and Carlisle, moved on the Warrenton turnpike toward the stone-bridge, leaving Miles and Richardson to watch and guard Blackburn's Ford. The object was to make a feigned attack near the bridge, while the two columns of Hunter and Heintzelman should cross Bull's Run at Sudley Church, and fall upon the Confederate left. These movements were very slow; and General McDowell, who was ill, and in a carriage, becoming impatient, mounted his horse and with his cavalry escort, commanded by Colonel A. G. Brackett, he rode forward, passed the two columns toiling along a rough forest road, and first entered the open field which became a battle-ground.

Meanwhile important movements had been made on the Confederate side, of which McDowell was ignorant. When he advanced to Fairfax Court-House, Beauregard informed Davis, at Richmond, of the movement who ordered Johnston to hasten to join the forces at Manassas with the army of the Shenandoah. It was necessary for Johnston to fight and defeat Patterson or elude him. He accomplished the latter, and with six thousand infantry he hastened to Manassas, where he arrived at noon on the 20th, the remainder of his army following at a slower pace. This reinforcement made Beauregard's army outnumber McDowell's by four thousand men, and being strongly fortified, he had an important advantage. Johnston, the senior in rank, took chief command.

General Tyler opened the memorable battle by firing a shell among the Confederates near the stone-bridge, commanded by Colonel Evans. Others followed; and Beauregard, believing it to be a real attack, sent reinforcements to Evans. At the same time Johnston ordered a quick and vigorous attack upon McDowell's left wing at Blackburn's Ford, not doubting, because of the superior force of Confederates in that quarter, that they would win a complete victory. The assailants were led by General Ewell. The movement miscarried; and from an eminence Johnston and Beauregard watched the opening conflict with great anxiety. A cloud of dust seen far to the northward gave Johnston apprehensions that Patterson, when he



From a war-time photograph by Brady By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

discovered the departure of the army of the Shenandoah, had given chase or was hastening to reinforce McDowell.

Colonel Evans was soon satisfied that Tyler's attack and the cannonade below was only a feint. He had been informed of the march of heavy columns through the forests on his left, and before ten o'clock scouts told him that one column was crossing Bull's Run at Sudley Church. It was Hunter's, composed of Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops, with the batteries of Griffin and Reynolds, the whole led by Colonel Burnside. Evans at once prepared to meet them; and General Bee, who commanded reserves, was sent forward to assist him. Very soon the Nationals appeared in the open field, and a battle began. Only a small stream in a little vale separated the combatants. Hard pressed, Evans's line began to waver, when General Bee advanced with fresh troops and gave it strength. The National line then began to tremble, and Burnside called for help. Colonel Andrew Porter responded by sending a battalion of regulars under Major Sykes.

The battle now raged furiously. Hunter was severely wounded and Colonel Slocum of Rhode Island was killed, when the youthful Sprague, governor of the little Commonwealth, took command of the troops from that State. At length Porter came up with his men and poured such a heavy fire upon Evans's left, that his line again began to bend. At that moment the head of Heintzelman's column appeared; also Sherman's brigade, whom Tyler had sent, under Colonel Corcoran, to assist Burnside. These reinforcements were timely; for the Nationals, who had been on their feet since midnight, were nearly exhausted.

A furious charge made by a New York regiment under Colonel H. W. Slocum, shattered the bending Confederate line, and the troops fled in confusion to a plateau whereon General T. J. Jackson had just arrived with reserves. "They are beating us back!" exclaimed General Bee. "Well, sir," calmly replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet!" Bee was encouraged. "Form! form!" he cried to the fugitives. "There stands Jackson like a stone wall." The effect of these words was wonderful. Their flight was checked, and order was soon brought out of confusion. Ever afterward, the calm general was called "Stonewall Jackson."

It was now noon. Alarmed by the unexpected strength of the Nationals, Johnston and Beauregard sent bodies of troops, under Holmes, Early, and Ewell, in the direction of the sounds of battle, four miles distant. The two commanders hastened to the plateau, when Johnston, the chief by seniority, after reorganizing the shattered columns, left Beauregard in command on the field and hastened to a position from which he had a view

of the whole area of operations and of the country toward Manassas, whence reinforcements from the Shenandoah Valley were momentarily expected. Without these, he had small hope of success. From his new position he also sent forward reinforcements; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, when the conflict was renewed, the Confederates had ten thousand soldiers, with twenty-two heavy guns in battle order on the plateau. Meanwhile the Nationals had been preparing for the struggle. At one o'clock they had gained possession of the Warrenton Turnpike, the grand objective of the march against the Confederate left; but their enemies must be driven from the plateau before victory would be secured. To accomplish this five brigades, namely, Porter's, Howard's, Franklin's, Wilcox's and Sherman's, with the batteries of Rickett's, Griffin and Arnold, and cavalry under Major Palmer, were to turn the Confederate left, while Keyes was sent to annoy them on the right.

Colonel Heintzelman accompanied McDowell as his lieutenant on the field, and his division began the attack. They pressed forward in the face of a storm of balls from batteries, and gained possession of a portion of the plateau. There was an elevation near that commanded the whole plateau, and McDowell ordered Ricketts and Griffin to plant their batteries upon it, with the immediate support of Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves, under Colonel Farnham. It was accomplished, while New York, Massachusetts and Minnesota troops took a position to the left of the batteries. As the artillery and Zouaves went boldly forward in the face of a severe fire from the enemy, they were suddenly attacked on the flank by Alabamians in ambush, and then by two companies of Stuart's Black-horse cavalry, in the rear. The Zouaves recoiled, and the horsemen dashed entirely through the shattered column. Colonel Farnham rallied his men, and with some assistance they attacked the Confederate horsemen so furiously that they were dispersed.

When the Zouaves gave way, Heintzelman ordered up a Minnesota regiment to the support of the batteries. Suddenly the Confederates, in overwhelming force, delivered a murderous fire that disabled the batteries by prostrating the men, when the struggle for the plateau became fearful. Both sides suffered dreadfully. Johnston heard of the slaughter and lost heart. He had ordered Early up, at eleven o'clock, with three fresh regiments, but they did not come. It was now three o'clock. "Oh for four regiments!" said Johnston, bitterly, to Colonel Cocke. His wish was more than satisfied. Just then he saw a cloud of dust in the direction of the Manassas Gap Railway. It was caused by a part of his own Shenandoah army, four thousand strong, under General E. Kirby Smith. They were received with joy, and were ordered into action immediately. Beauregard's

force was almost doubled by these and other fresh troops; and the blow that now smote McDowell's troops, just as they were about to grasp the palm of victory, was sudden, unexpected, heavy, and overpowering. In fifteen minutes the Nationals were swept from the plateau. As regiment after regiment gave way and hurried toward the turnpike in confusion, panic seized others, and at four o'clock a greater portion of the National army were flying across Bull's Run toward Centreville. With many it was not a retreat but a disorderly rout. They left behind them over three thousand men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The Confederates lost over two thousand. The Confederate congress had assembled at Richmond the day before; and Jefferson Davis, who arrived on the battle-field just as the flight began, sent back to his associates an exultant shout of victory, by the telegraph. It was echoed, in varying notes, over the Confederacy, while the vanquished army was hastening, in fragments, back to the defence of the capital. For a moment the gloom of deep despondency settled upon the hearts of the loyal portion of the nation.

The gravity of the occasion was so little appreciated, that when it was known at Washington that McDowell was to attack Beauregard on Sunday, the 21st, scores of men, and even women—Congressmen, officials of every grade, and plain citizens—went out in carriages as to a spectacular show for amusement. Passes from military commanders were like tickets to a Roman gladiatorial combat in the circus; and the vicinity of the battle-field was gay, on Sunday morning, with civilians, who indulged in wine and cigars at the headquarters of Colonel Miles at Centreville. The heights there were crowded with spectators; and as the battle went on, and bombs "burst in air," their cheeks were made to glow with delicious excitement. Before night those cheeks were made pale by terror as the crowd of spectators rushed back, pell-mell, toward places of safety, pursued by the Confederates. Soldiers and citizens and well-dressed women were mingled in picturesque confusion in the line of fugitives who crowded the highways. In several places the roads were blocked with overturned vehicles or abandoned cannon; and horses and human kind seemed equally eager to escape from the whirlwind of destruction that followed in fury behind them for awhile. But the pursuit of the Confederates was soon stayed by misinformation. Had they pressed on, their coveted prize, the National capital, might have been in their possession before Monday morning.

The battle at Bull's Run depressed the loyal people only for a moment, and there was a quick rebound from despair to hope. Another uprising by the loyalists in favor of the Union took place, and the gaps in the National armies were more than filled within a fortnight by new recruits. The Con-

federates were weakened by their victory, for it gave them undue confidence in their strength and prowess, and made them neglect to profit by it. But circumstances soon afterward caused a "solid South" to be arrayed against the National Government, and the Confederate armies were wonderfully sustained by their people.

General Patterson was unjustly censured for his failure to hold Johnston at Winchester or to reinforce McDowell. When the truth was made known by positive testimony, it appeared clear that he did all an obedient soldier, bound by instructions, could do under the circumstances, and the public mind was satisfied.

While the events we have just considered were occurring in the East, the war was making rapid progress in the West, especially in Missouri, where General Lyon, as we have seen, had taken vigorous measures to quell the rebellion. The disloyal governor of Missouri, who raised the standard of revolt at Jefferson City, fled westward with troops who were led by General Price, and took a stand at near Booneville. There they were attacked by Lyon and defeated, when they retreated toward the southwestern portion of Missouri, and halted not far from the Arkansas border. Lyon now held military control over the whole region northward of the Missouri River, and east of a line from Booneville to the Arkansas border, thus giving to the Government the important points of St. Louis, Hannibal, St. Joseph, and Bird's Point on the Mississippi, as bases of operations, with railways and rivers for transportation. General Lyon remained about a fortnight at Booneville preparing for a vigorous campaign against the insurgents whom Jackson was gathering around him in southwestern Missouri. He issued a proclamation which quieted the people and strengthened the Union cause, for he assured them that his Government had no other end in view than the maintenance of its authority over the persons and property of the whole people of the State.

On the 1st of July (1861) there were at least ten thousand loyal troops in Missouri, and as many more might have been thrown into it from camps in Illinois, in the space of forty-eight hours. At the same time, Colonel Franz Sigel, a German soldier and patriot, was pushing eager soldiers toward insurgent camps on the borders of Kansas and Arkansas. On the 5th of July he encountered a considerable force under Jackson and Brigadier-General Rains, near Carthage. Their force was much greater in number than his own, and after a sharp fight he was pressed back and retreated in good order to Springfield. Lyon, who was then at the head of a small force, eighty miles from Springfield, satisfied of Sigel's peril, hastened forward to his relief, by forced marches, and encamped not far

from him on the 13th of July and took command of the combined forces. In the meantime troops from Texas under Generals McCulloch, Rains, Pearce and McBride, had joined Price, making his whole force about twenty thousand men. They were now marching on Springfield. To confront them Lyon had not more than six thousand men, horse and foot (the former



SCENE AT WILSON'S CREEK.

about five hundred in number), and eighteen pieces of artillery. With this comparatively feeble force Lyon went out to meet his enemies, and at Dug Springs, about nineteen miles west from Springfield, they met and fought a desperate battle on the 2d of August. The Confederates were led by General Rains. So furious was the charge of Lyon's cavalry, in the engagement, led by Captain Stanley, that Confederate prisoners seriously inquired: "Are they men or devils?" The Confederates were beaten and fled to Wilson's Creek, about ten miles south of Springfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 9th wearied and half-starved.

The Confederates anxiously sought rest and refreshment, but Lyon would not grant them the boon. Before the dawn the next morning he marched against them in two columns, one led by himself to fall upon their front; the other, under Sigel, twelve hundred strong, with six field-pieces, to attack their rear. A battle began at an early hour. Lyon's column bore the brunt of the conflict. His words and deeds inspired his men to fight valiantly. Wherever the storm of battle was raging fiercest, there Lyon was seen. Very early in the severe engagement, his horse was shot under him. Then he received a wound in the leg. Another in the head soon followed and partially stunned him. Mounting the horse of one of Major Sturgis's orderlies, and placing himself at the head of Kansas troops, he swung his hat over his head, and called upon the men to follow. While dashing forward with a determination to gain the victory, a rifle-ball passed through his body, near his heart, and he expired in a few minutes. The conflict continued about two hours longer, and at eleven o'clock it ceased, the Confederates, discomfited, withdrawing from the field. The loss of Nationals in the battle was between twelve and thirteen hundred, and of the Confederates full three thousand. The former fell back to Springfield, and the next morning (August 11) the whole Union force, under the general command of Sigel, retreated from Springfield to Rolla, one hundred and twenty-five miles in the direction of St. Louis, safely conducting a Government train valued at \$1,500,000.

When Governor Jackson set up the standard of revolt at the capital of Missouri, the loyal men of the Commonwealth tried to stay the hand of secession. They had held a State Convention in February, at which no openly avowed disunionist appeared. That Convention reassembled at Jefferson City, on the 22d of July, and declared the government of which Jackson was the head, to be illegal. They organized a provisional government for service until a permanent one might be established by the people. The Convention issued an address to the inhabitants, in which the treason of the governor was exposed. Meanwhile General Pillow, by invitation of the governor, had entered the Commonwealth at the head of Tennessee troops to act in concert with M. Jefferson Thompson, the leader of the State militia. The shallow Pillow, vain as he was incompetent, assumed the pompous title of "Liberator of Missouri," and dated his orders and despatches, "Headquarters Army of Liberation." Missouri was not annexed to the Confederacy; but persons claiming to represent that State, sat in the Confederate Congress at Richmond during a greater part of the period of the Civil War.



CHAPTER CXIX.

Fremont in Missouri—Siege and Fall of Lexington—Kentucky Neutrality Violated by the Confederates—Events in Eastern Kentucky—Buckner's Raid—Fremont Superseded—Battle at Belmont—Military Movements in Northwestern Virginia—Lee, Floyd and Wise—Civil War Ended in West Virginia—Capture of Hatteras Forts—Events near Fort Pickens and Southwest Pass—Operations on the Coast of South Carolina—McClellan in Command—"On to Richmond!"—Boldness of the Confederates—They are Pushed Back—Battle at Ball's Bluff.

JOHAN C. FREMONT, the eminent explorer and meritorious soldier, who was in Europe when the war began, after purchasing arms for the Government there, hastened home and was commissioned major-general of volunteers. On the 6th of July, he was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri, with his headquarters at St. Louis, where, in consequence of General Lyon having taken the field in person, he found everything in confusion. He entered upon his duties with vigor. He caused St. Louis to be fortified; and Bird's Point, opposite Cairo, on the Mississippi, was made secure from the operations of the Confederates.

When, on the death of General Lyon and the retreat of the National troops from Springfield toward St. Louis, Fremont perceived the secession element in Missouri to be strong and defiant, he took the civil as well as the military power in his department into his own hands, and soon caused his opponents to act with circumspection. He proclaimed martial-law, and assured the disaffected that it would be vigorously enforced. His energy created jealousies; and such misrepresentations were laid before his Government that his actions, which promised the best results, were restrained, and the wholesome rigors of martial-law were removed.

Fremont had already formed a plan for ridding not only Missouri, but the whole Mississippi Valley, of armed insurgents, and for opening the navigation of the great river which was then obstructed by Confederate batteries at Memphis and elsewhere. His plan contemplated the capture or dispersion of troops under General Price, in Missouri, and the seizure of Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas. By so doing Fremont expected to turn the position of the forces under Pillow and others, in the vicinity of New

Madrid, cut off their supplies from the southwest and compel them to retreat, at which time a flotilla of gun-boats then a-building near St. Louis, might descend the Mississippi and assist in military operations against the batteries at Memphis. In the event of this movement being successful, he proposed to push on toward the Gulf of Mexico, with his army, and take possession of New Orleans.

After the battle of Wilson's Creek, General McCulloch, the Texan leader, abandoned General Price, because they could not agree, when the latter, in sole command, called upon the Secessionists to fill up his ranks. They responded with alacrity; and at the middle of August, Price moved northward in the direction of Lexington, which was situated in a curve of the Missouri River. It occupied an important position, and was garrisoned by less than three thousand troops under Colonel James A. Mulligan. Early in September, when Price had reached its vicinity, Mulligan resolved to defend the place, with his small army, and cast up intrenchments around his camp. At that time a larger Union force was at the State capital, under Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, and General John Pope was coming down from the country northward of the Missouri River, with five thousand more. Price perceived his danger, and pressing vigorously forward, besieged Lexington on the 11th of September, with twenty thousand men, which number soon increased to twenty-five thousand, by reinforcements. Mulligan was inadequately supplied with heavy guns and ammunition to sustain a siege; and after a gallant defence of the post against overwhelming numbers, until the morning of the 20th, he was compelled to surrender. This disaster was severely felt by the Unionists; and Fremont, resolving to retrieve it, at once put in motion an army of more than twenty thousand men to drive Price and his followers out of Missouri.

Early in the summer the disloyal governor of Kentucky declared that arrangements had been made at Cincinnati, with General McClellan, that neither National nor Confederate troops should enter Kentucky. McClellan denied the truth of the assertions; but for several months the neutrality of Kentucky was as much respected as if such an arrangement was in force; and the purposes of the governors of Kentucky and Tennessee were promoted, for it gave them more time to prepare for war. In the meantime Pillow had been unsuccessfully trying to capture Cairo by military operations in Missouri. He urged the seizure of the bluff at Columbus, in Western Kentucky, from which he believed he might take Cairo in reverse, turn its guns upon Bird's Point, drive out and disperse the Nationals, and so make a free passage for the Confederates to St. Louis. The solemn pledges of his masters to respect Kentucky neutrality, restrained Pillow; but in

September (1861) the Confederates resolved to violate that neutrality. General (Bishop) Polk, seized the strong position at Columbus, with a considerable body of troops, under the pretext that National forces were preparing to occupy that place. The Confederate secretary of war publicly telegraphed to Polk to withdraw his troops; and at the same time Jefferson Davis privately telegraphed to him to hold on, saying: "The necessity must justify the means." So Columbus was held by the Confederates. The loyal members of the Kentucky Legislature requested the governor to call out the militia of the State to expel the invaders, and asked the National Government to aid him. The governor did nothing; but General Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of the district around Cairo, took military possession of Paducah, in Northern Kentucky, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. The seizure of Columbus by the Confederates, opened the way to all the horrors of war which Kentucky suffered; and the occupation of Paducah by National troops ended the "neutrality" of that State. Thenceforth Kentucky was numbered among the loyal States.

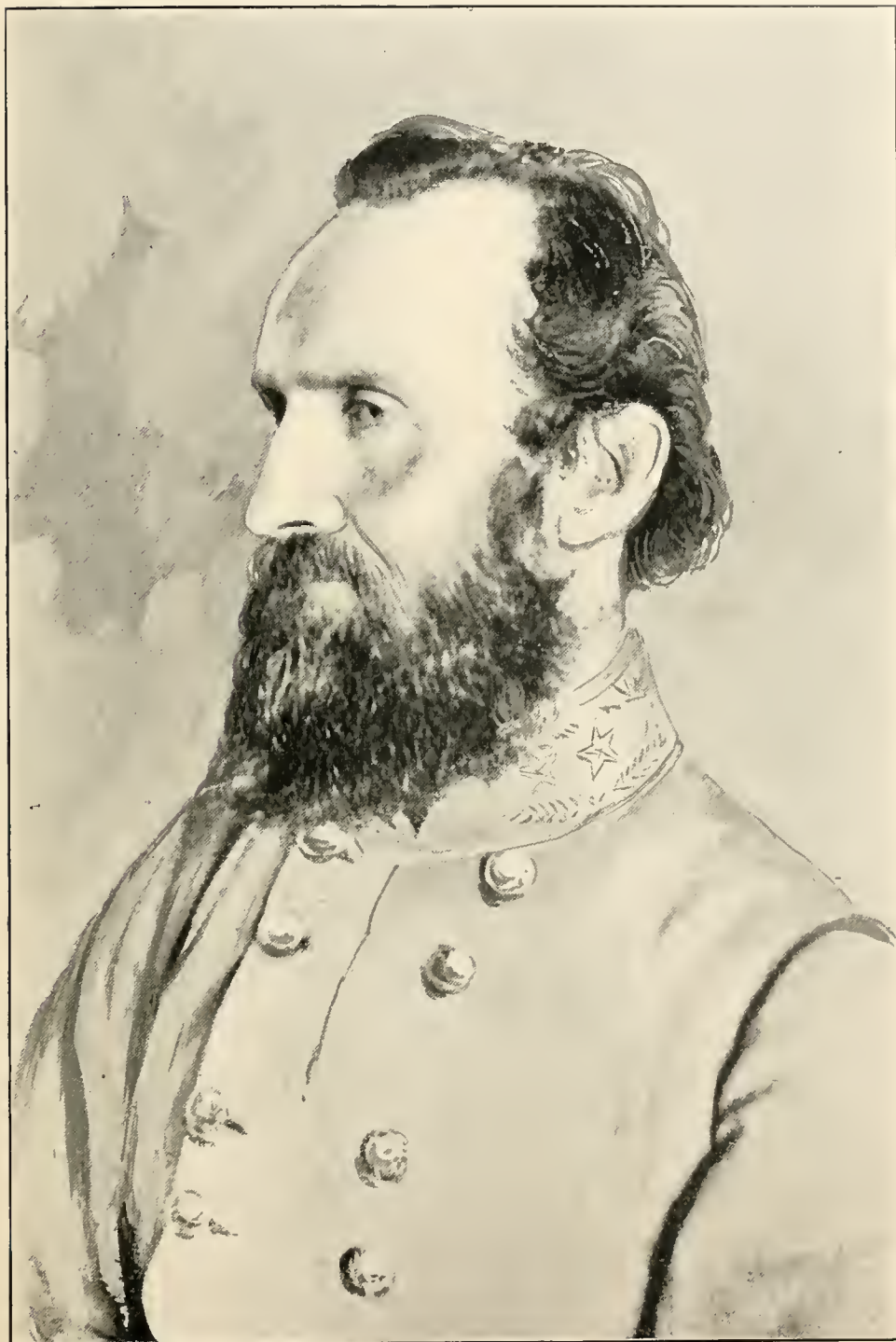
On the day after Polk seized Columbus, a Confederate force under General Zollicoffer (formerly a member of Congress), invaded Kentucky from East Tennessee, where the loyalists were suffering peculiar hardships at the hands of the Secessionists. At the same time, Simon B. Buckner, who had been placed in command of the professed "neutral" *Kentucky State Guard*, formed a Confederate camp in Tennessee, just below the Kentucky border, and, acting in co-operation with Polk and Zollicoffer, attempted to seize Louisville. He was foiled by the vigilance of General Anderson (late of Fort Sumter), who was in command there, with General W. T. Sherman as his lieutenant. Buckner fell back to Bowling Green, on the Nashville and Louisville Railroad, and there established a camp as a nucleus of a powerful Confederate force that was gathered soon afterward.

Buckner's raid and the invasion of Zollicoffer aroused the Unionists of Eastern Kentucky, who flew to arms under various leaders. In an attack upon a camp of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio troops, under Colonel Garrard, at the Rock Castle Hills, a picturesque region of the Cumberland Mountains, Zollicoffer was repulsed, on the 21st of October. Further eastward, near Piketon, the capital of Pike county, a Confederate force under John S. Williams was dispersed by some Union troops under General William Nelson, early in November. These successes inspired the loyalists of East Tennessee with hopes of a speedy deliverance from their oppressors; but they were compelled to wait long for relief, for toward the close of 1861 the Confederates had established a firm military foothold in Tennessee, and occupied a considerable portion of Southern Kentucky from the Cumber-

land Mountains to the Mississippi River, along a line about four hundred miles in length. They also occupied a greater portion of Missouri, south of the Missouri River.

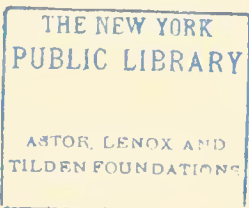
Fremont was censured for his failure to reinforce Mulligan. The public knew very little of his embarrassments at that time. Pressing demands came for reinforcements, from General Grant at Paducah. Cries for help were heard at various points in his department; and a peremptory order was received from General Scott to forward five thousand troops immediately to Washington city, notwithstanding McClellan (who was in chief command there) had seventy thousand men within easy call. Fremont's forces did not, at any time, number more than fifty-six thousand, and these were scattered over his department. Chafing under unjust complaints, he proceeded to put his plan for ridding the Mississippi Valley of Confederate troops into operation at once. On the 27th of September, he put more than twenty thousand soldiers (five thousand of them cavalry) in motion under the respective commands of Generals Hunter, Pope, Sigel, McKinsty and Asboth, accompanied by eighty-six heavy guns. These five columns were moving southward early in October; and on the 11th, when his army was thirty thousand strong, Fremont wrote to his Government: "My plan is New Orleans straight; I would precipitate the war forward, and end it soon and victoriously."

Fremont felt confident of success. His army were in high spirits, and small victories were won by his detachments in various places. He had strengthened the forces in Eastern Missouri, so that St. Louis was safe; and General Hardee at Greenville, and General Pillow near New Madrid, dared not advance. He knew the bitterness of his political enemies, and the jealousies of envious men; and he was in continual expectation of interference with his plans. That interference soon came. False accusers, public and private, had such influence in the military councils at Washington that, just after his superb body-guard of one hundred and fifty cavalry, led by Zagonyi, a Hungarian, had charged upon and routed about two thousand Confederates, foot and horse, at Springfield, Fremont received an order from General Scott, directing him to turn over his command to General Hunter, then some distance in the rear. Hunter arrived just as the troops were about to attack Price. He countermanded Fremont's orders for battle; and nine days afterward General H. W. Halleck was placed in command of the Department of Missouri. The disappointed and disheartened army were turned back, and made a retrograde march to St. Louis in sullen sadness. Fremont was afterward presented with an elegant sword, inscribed: "*To the Path-finder, by the Men of the West.*"



From a war-time photograph by permission of the U. S. Government

GENERAL THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON, C. S. A.



Just before he was deprived of his command, Fremont ordered General Grant to move a co-operative force along the line of the Mississippi River. It was promptly done. A column, about three thousand strong, and composed chiefly of Illinois volunteers, under General John A. McClernand, went down from Cairo in transports and the wooden gun-boats *Tyler* and *Lexington* to menace Columbus by attacking the post at Belmont opposite; and at the same time another column, under General C. F. Smith, marched from Paducah to menace Columbus in the rear. Grant accompanied McClernand's column. The troops were landed on the morning of November 7th, three miles above Belmont, and pushed on for that post, while the gun-boats opened fire upon Columbus. General Polk, still in command there, acted with vigor and promptness. He sent Pillow across the river with troops to reinforce the garrison at Belmont. In a sharp battle that ensued, the Nationals won the victory, but, exposed to a sharp fire of artillery on the bluff at Columbus, that position was untenable; so, giving three cheers for the Union, they set fire to the Confederate camp, and withdrew with captured men, horses, and artillery. But Polk determined not to let the victors escape. He opened seven of his heaviest guns upon them, and at the same time sent over fresh troops under General Cheatham, and crossed over himself with two regiments, making the whole Confederate force about five thousand. There was a desperate struggle; but Grant fought his way back to his transports, and escaped under cover of a fire from the gun-boats. These were admirably handled in the engagement respectively by Commanders Walke and Stemple. The Nationals lost about five hundred men, and the Confederates over six hundred.

We have observed that the Confederates, though defeated in Western Virginia in the summer of 1861, resolved not to relinquish possession of that granary without another struggle. It occurred in the autumn of that year. The troops left by Garnett and Pegram were placed in charge of General Robert E. Lee, and early in August he was at the head of about sixteen thousand fighting men. John B. Floyd, the late Secretary of War, was sent with some troops to reinforce those under General Wise, and to take the chief command in the region of the Gauley River. Lee made his headquarters at Huntersville, in Pocahontas county, and he placed a strong guard on Buffalo Mountain, at the crossing of the Staunton turnpike. Much was expected from Floyd, for he promised much. It was expected that he would move swiftly down the Kanawha Valley, and drive General Cox across the Ohio River; while Lee should disperse the army of ten thousand men under Rosecrans, McClellan's successor, at Clarksburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and so open a way for an invading force of

Confederates into the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Floyd made his headquarters a few miles from Summerville.

Early in September, Rosecrans marched southward in search of Floyd. He scaled the Gauly Mountains with great difficulty, and on the 10th found his foe at Carnifex Ferry on the Gauly River. Rosecrans fell upon the Ex-Secretary furiously, and for three hours they fought desperately. The contest ceased at twilight; and during the night Floyd stole away

under cover of darkness, and did not halt until he reached the summit of Big Sewell Mountain, thirty miles distant. Meanwhile the Nationals under General J. J. Reynolds, whom Rosecrans had left to confront Lee in the Cheat Mountain region, were watching the roads and passes of the more westerly of the Alleghany range of hills. They observed that Lee's scouts were very active, and that he was evidently preparing to strike a blow somewhere. Finally the object of his movements was made clear, which was to attack the Nationals at Elkwater, and the outpost of Indiana troops on the summit of Cheat Mountain, so as to secure the Pass and have a free communication with the Shenandoah Valley, at Staunton. For that object Lee marched from Hun-



W. S. ROSECRANS.

tersville on the night of the 11th of September, with nine thousand men and nearly a dozen pieces of artillery, to strike the post at Elkwater, the Summit and the Pass at the same moment. A storm was sweeping over the mountains and favored the enterprise. But it was unsuccessful. Lee was repulsed at Elkwater and the Summit, when he withdrew and joined Floyd on Big Sewell Mountain between the forks of the Kanawha. Their combined forces numbered about twenty thousand men, and they were there confronted by about ten thousand Nationals under Rosecrans, assisted by Generals Cox, Schenck, and Benham.

Very soon afterward, General Lee, whose campaign had been a failure, was recalled and sent to Georgia. He was succeeded by Floyd. The incompetent Wise was also recalled. Floyd, as chief commander in Western Virginia, took post on New River, from which he was driven by Rosecrans on the 12th of November, and was pursued about fifty miles. Then he retired from the army, but reappeared in command at Fort Donelson not long afterward. Vigorous movements made by Generals Kelly and Milroy, toward the close of the year, were successful in dispersing the Confederate troops in Northwestern Virginia. A successful expedition sent against a Confederate post at Huntersville (Lee's old quarters) by Milroy, closed the campaign of 1861, in that region, and armed rebellion was effectually crushed in West Virginia.

In the summer of 1861, the Confederates built two forts on Hatteras Island, off the coast of North Carolina, which guarded the entrance to Hatteras Inlet, through which the British blockade-runners had begun to carry in supplies to the insurgents. General B. F. Butler, then in command at Fortress Monroe, proposed the sending of a land and naval force against these forts. It was undertaken late in August; and when, toward the close of summer (just after the village of Hampton had been laid in ashes by Virginia troops under Magruder), Butler was succeeded in command at Fortress Monroe by the veteran General John E. Wool, the former volunteered to command the land forces for the purpose. An expedition, composed of eight transports and war-ships under Commodore Stringham, bearing almost nine hundred land troops commanded by Butler, left Hampton Roads for Hatteras Inlet on the 26th of August, and on the morning of the 28th the vessels of war opened fire upon the forts (Hatteras and Clarke) and some of the troops were landed. An assault by both arms of the service was kept up until the 29th, when the forts were surrendered, and the expedition returned to Hampton Roads, leaving a portion of Colonel Hawkins's New York Zouaves, with their commander, to garrison the captured post. During the siege, Mr. Fiske, acting aide-de-camp to General Butler, performed a gallant deed. When one of the forts (Clarke) was abandoned, he swam ashore, through heavy breakers, with orders for Colonel Weber, who was on the island. Fiske entered the evacuated fort, and found books and papers containing valuable information. These he formed into a package, strapped it high upon his shoulders, and swam back with them to the ship. The information they contained gave the assailants great advantages.

The victory at Hatteras finally led to important results, as we shall perceive hereafter. The politicians of North Carolina had annexed that

State to the Confederacy. A conciliatory address to the inhabitants, issued by Colonel Hawkins, led to a Convention on the Eastern Shore, which, on the 16th of November, 1861, adopted a declaration of independence of the Confederacy. It promised so much good that President Lincoln authorized the election of a Congressman from that district. But the heel of despotic power soon crushed this germ of active loyalty among four thousand inhabitants, and it almost disappeared for a time.

We have observed that Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island off the harbor of Pensacola, was saved from the insurgents early in 1861, by the vigilance and bravery of Lieutenant Slemmer. He was furloughed for rest, and Colonel Harvey Brown took his place. The garrison was reinforced



EXPLOIT OF AIDE-DE-CAMP FISKE.

from time to time. In June, Wilson's Zouaves from New York arrived on Santa Rosa Island to assist in the defence of the fort, which the Confederates ardently coveted. The latter had gathered in large numbers on the main; and in October they attempted to surprise and capture Wilson's troops, on a dark night, landing and rushing upon their camp with the cry of "Death to Wilson! No quarter!" The Zouaves fought desperately in the gloom, and, with the aid of men from the fort, drove the assailants to their boats. The Confederates lost one hundred and fifty men; the Nationals, sixty-four. Wilson's camp was burned by the enemy, and that was the most that the assailants achieved.

These events were followed, late in November, by a severe cannonade and bombardment of the Confederate works on the main, by Fort Pickens

and war-vessels. There were seven thousand men under General Braxton Bragg, encamped behind these works and in a curved line from the Navy-yard to Fort McRee, a distance of about four miles. The works consisted of forts and batteries. In the course of forty-eight hours after the bombardment was begun, most of the heavy guns of the Confederates were silenced, and a greater portion of the Navy-yard and the villages of Wolcott and Warrington adjoining, were laid in ashes by shells from Fort Pickens. After that, for a few weeks, quiet prevailed in Pensacola Bay, when it was broken by another artillery duel on the 1st of January, 1862. It lasted about twelve hours, but with very little damage to either party.

Meanwhile a speck of war had appeared at the Southwest Pass at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Captain J. S. Hollins of the National navy, who had deserted his flag, was in command there of a Confederate "ram"—an iron-clad gun-boat with a sharp and heavy iron beak to crush or punch holes in the sides of wooden vessels. It was called *Manassas*. With this formidable monster, which might have been very mischievous in competent hands, Hollins attacked the National blockading squadron under Captain Pope; but he was soon driven up the river to Fort Jackson, after doing slight damage to one or two of the vessels.

Late in the same month (October, 1861), another more formidable land and naval armament left Hampton Roads for a destination unknown to all but the chief commander. It was composed of fifty war-ships and transports commanded by Admiral S. F. Dupont, and fifteen thousand land troops under General T. W. Sherman. Dupont's flag-ship, the *Wabash*, led the way out to sea, and each ship sailed under sealed orders to be opened in case of the dispersion of the fleet. A terrible tempest smote them off Cape Hatteras, and very soon only one vessel could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship. The sealed orders were opened, by which each commander was directed to rendezvous at Port Royal entrance, on the coast of South Carolina. There all but four transports, which were lost, were gathered around the *Wabash* on the evening of the 4th of November. Fortunately no human life perished with the transports lost.

The entrance to Port Royal Sound is between Hilton Head and Phillips's Island, and was guarded by a battery on each, erected by the Confederates. Within the Sound was a small flotilla of armed vessels commanded by the veteran Commodore Tattnall, late of the United States navy, who had espoused the Confederate cause. On the morning of the 7th of November, Dupont's ships attacked the guarding forts, the guns of which were soon silenced, when the fleet moved into the Sound and drove Tattnall's vessels into shallow water. The National forces took possession

of Port Royal Island and the neighboring ones, and found them deserted by the planters and their families. Most of the slaves remained. They had refused to follow their masters, who tried to frighten them by horrible stories about the people of the North—the “Yankees”—who, they told them, were coming to steal and sell the negroes in Cuba, or to kill them and bury them in the sand. The colored people did not believe these tales; and when the National ships approached, and the masters and mistresses of the slaves fled in terror, these simple people—men, women and children—stood in groups on the sea-shore, with little bundles of clothing in their hands, desiring to go on board.

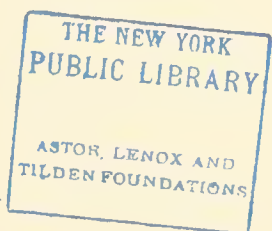
The last efforts of the Confederates to defend the Sea Islands below Charleston, where the most valuable cotton was raised, was made at Port Royal Ferry, between Port Royal Island and the main, on the 1st of January, 1862. After a severe conflict the Confederates were defeated and dispersed. Dupont, in the meantime, had taken possession of Big Tybee Island, near Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River; and before the close of 1861, the National authority was supreme over the coast islands from Warsaw Sound to the mouth of the North Edisto River. A fleet of twenty old wooden ships, chiefly whalers, heavily laden with rough blocks of granite, which had been sent from New England to be sunk in the four channels of the entrance to Charleston harbor, and so assist in the blockade services, arrived at their destination at about this time. It was when this “stone fleet” approached, that a fire which laid a large portion of Charleston in ashes (an event already mentioned), was raging. Quicksands swallowed the “stone fleet,” and its services were of very little account.

We have seen that General McClellan was called from Western Virginia to take charge of the army of the Potomac, as the forces around Washington were called after the battle of Bull’s Run. He assumed command on the 27th of July. He brought to the service youth, a spotless moral character, robust health, a sound theoretic military education with some practical experience, untiring industry, the prestige of recent success in the field, and the unlimited confidence of the loyal people. He found at his disposal about fifty thousand infantry, less than one thousand cavalry, six hundred and fifty artillerymen, and thirty pieces of cannon. He was very popular, and was called a “Young Napoleon;” and when on the 1st of November, 1861, General Scott resigned his place as General-in-Chief of the armies, McClellan was appointed to fill that office. The act was hailed as a promise of a speedy termination of the conflict, for he had said that the war should be “short, sharp, and decisive.” He thoroughly reorganized the army which had been shattered by the terrible blow of Bull’s Run; and it was



From a war-time photograph by permission of the U. S. Government

GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, C.S.A.



believed that Richmond, which had become the Confederate capital, would be in the possession of the National troops before the close of September.

The Confederates under General Johnston remained encamped at Manassas, and were compelled to be idle for want of cavalry and adequate subsistence; while the National army was hourly increasing in strength at the rate of two thousand men a day from the teeming free-labor States, with ample supplies of munitions of war. Beauregard urged Johnston to attack the National fortifications which were rising around Washington, but the wise leader prudently refused; and while the hearts of the loyal people yearned to see a forward movement, and some of the newspapers raised and prolonged the insane cry of "On to Richmond!" the civil and military leaders of the Government, remembering the disaster at Bull's Run, were circumspect and cautious. For several months these two principal armies lay within thirty miles of each other, the quiet of camp life broken only by an occasional skirmish or midnight alarm. Detachments of Confederates reconnoitering, sometimes approached within a few miles of Washington; and they held possession of Munson's Hill, within six miles of the dome of the Capitol, as the bird flies. They also kept up the blockade of the Potomac River by batteries on the Virginia shore, already alluded to—a state of things not only perilous to the capital and the army that surrounded it, but exceedingly disgraceful to that great army. So felt the Government, and in September it was resolved to remove these obstructions. McClellan was ordered to co-operate with the naval force on the river, in the necessary business; but his unfortunate habit of procrastination paralyzed the efforts of the naval commanders, and the blockade was kept up until the Confederates voluntarily abandoned their position in front of Washington, in the spring of 1862.

When the Government ordered the removal of the blockade of the Potomac, the National troops began to push back the Confederate advance on the Virginia side of the river. Late in September the latter retired from Munson's Hill; and struggles for the possession of the Upper Potomac occurred at Lewinsville in Virginia, and Darnestown in Maryland. In these struggles the Nationals won the victory; and by the middle of October (1861) they occupied a line from Fairfax Court-House well up toward Leesburg, and the most advanced outpost of the Confederates was at or near Centreville. Meanwhile some National troops had crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry to seize some wheat, when they were menaced by a large body of Confederates. Colonel (afterward General) Geary went over with reinforcements for the invaders, and on the hills back of the village he had

a severe engagement with the insurgents, and repulsed them. Then all the Nationals recrossed the river with their spoils.

This event was soon followed by a more important one at Ball's Bluff, on the Upper Potomac. The left wing of the Confederate army was commanded by General (late Colonel) Evans. It lay at Leesburg, and was confronted by a National force commanded by General Charles P. Stone,



DEATH OF COL. E. D. BAKER.

who were encamped between Conrad's and Edwards's ferries. His headquarters were at Poolesville. Misinformation had caused a belief that the Confederates had left Leesburg at a little past the middle of October, when McClellan ordered General McCall, who commanded the advance of the right of the National forces in Virginia, to move forward and occupy Drainsville. At the same time he ordered General Stone to co-operate with General McCall, which he did by making a feint of crossing the river at the two ferries above-named, on the afternoon of Sunday the 20th of October. At the same time a part of a Massachusetts regiment, under Colonel

Devens, was ordered to take post on Harrison's Island in the Potomac, abreast of Ball's Bluff. Devens went with four companies in flat-boats taken from the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Three thousand men commanded by Colonel E. D. Baker, a member of the National Senate, acting as a brigadier, were held in readiness as a reserve, in the event of a battle.

These movements of the Nationals caused an opposing one on the part of the Confederates, who had watched their antagonists with keen vigilance, at a point of concealment not far off. Misinformed as to the position of the insurgents, and supposing McCall to be near enough to give aid, if necessary, Stone, on the morning of the 21st, ordered some Massachusetts troops under Colonels Lee and Devens, to cross to the Virginia main, from Harrison's Island, to reconnoitre. They did not find the foe in the neighborhood. But Evans, unperceived, lay near with a strong force; and when the detachment fell back to the vicinity of Ball's Bluff, he attacked them. It was at a little past noon. Colonel Baker had been sent to Harrison's Island, with his reserves, invested with discretionary power to withdraw or reinforce the other troops. He concluded to go forward, supposing the forces of McCall and others to be near; and on reaching the field he took the chief command by virtue of his rank. Very soon afterward he was instantly killed by a bullet that pierced his brain. His troops, unsupported by others, were crushed by a superior force. Pressed back to the verge of the bluff and down the declivity, they fought desperately for awhile at twilight, for they had no means for transportation across the swollen flood. They were soon overpowered. A large number of the Nationals were made prisoners, and many perished in trying to escape by swimming in the dark. Some were shot in the water, and others were drowned. A large flat-boat, overloaded with the wounded and others, was riddled by bullets, and sank. In this affair, the Nationals lost full one thousand men and two pieces of artillery. The loss of Colonel Baker was irreparable. He was a genuine patriot, an acute statesman, and eloquent orator. His death caused sadness wherever his worth was appreciated.



CHAPTER CXX.

Inaction of the Army of the Potomac—Capture of Mason and Slidell—Conduct of the British Government and Press—President Lincoln's Wisdom—Release of the Captives—Expedition to the Coast of North Carolina—Capture of Roanoke Island—Proclamation to the People of Eastern North Carolina—Department Commanders West of the Mississippi—Missouri Purged of Armed Insurgents—The Campaign in Missouri—Insurgents Chased into Arkansas—Battle of Pea Ridge—Military Operations in New Mexico—Battle at Valverde—Insurgents Expelled from New Mexico—Civil and Military Transactions in Kentucky—Battle of Mill Spring—The Confederate Line Across Kentucky Broken and Shortened—Beauregard in the West.

FOR the space of almost two months after the battle at Ball's Bluff, the ears of the loyal people were vexed with the unsatisfying announcement made every morning, "All is quiet along the Potomac!" The autumn was dry and the roads in Virginia were never in a better condition for the movement of troops, and particularly of heavy artillery. Washington seemed to be perfectly secure, and there was an ample supply of troops not only for its defence, but to make an easy conquest of Richmond. At the close of the year (1861) there were full two hundred thousand men in the Army of the Potomac, while the Confederates that opposed them were never more than sixty thousand strong. The politicians sneeringly called the latter a mob, and plain people naturally wondered how such a rabble could hold so large an army of disciplined soldiers, under a "young Napoleon" who had promised that the war should be "short, sharp, and decisive," so long and so tightly in and near the National capital. They were impatient because of the delay in the promised forward movement of the Army of the Potomac; and there was a sense of relief that amounted to joyfulness, when, at near Christmas, the monotony was broken for a moment by a fight at Drainsville between the brigade of Nationals under General O. C. Ord, and a smaller force of Confederate foragers led by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, the famous cavalry leader. The excitement was only momentary. The Confederates, worsted in the sharp conflict, fled, and the people were again teased with the daily croon—"All quiet along the Potomac!" Their hearts were becoming sick with hopes deferred, when two events occurred which

awakened the liveliest feelings of satisfaction in the public mind. These were the capture of two Confederate ambassadors and leading conspirators, and the permanent lodgement of the National power on the coast of North Carolina.

We have seen that the Confederates, at an early period in the contest, sent diplomatic agents to European courts. These proved to be incompetent, and the Confederate government undertook to correct the mistake by sending two of their ablest men to represent their cause at the courts of Great Britain and France, respectively. These were James M. Mason of Virginia, author of the Fugitive-Slave Act, and John Slidell, who was deeply interested in the scheme for opening the African slave-trade. The ambassadors, each accompanied by a "secretary of legation," left Charleston harbor on a stormy night (the 12th of October, 1861), eluded the blockading squadron, and landed at Havana, Cuba, where they were cordially greeted by the British consul and other sympathizers. There they embarked for St. Thomas, in the British mail-steamer *Trent*, intending to go to England in the regular packet from the latter port. While the *Trent* was on her way to St. Thomas, and when off the northern coast of Cuba, she fell in with the American war-ship *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, then on his way home from the coast of Africa. He touched at Havana, where he heard of the movements of the Confederate ambassadors. Satisfied that the English rule concerning neutrals and belligerents would justify him in seizing these two men on board the *Trent*, and transferring them to his own vessel, he had gone out in search of that steamship. He found her on the 8th of November, and brought her to by a shell fired across her bow. Then he sent Lieutenant Fairfax, a kinsman of Mason, on board the *Trent* to demand the delivery of the ambassadors and their secretaries to Captain Wilkes. The officers of the *Trent* protested, and the ambassadors refused to leave the ship unless forced by physical power to do so. Lieutenant Greer and a few marines were sent to the aid of Fairfax, who then took Mason by the shoulder and placed him in a boat belonging to the *San Jacinto*. Then the lieutenant returned for Slidell. The passengers were greatly excited. They gathered around him, some making contemptuous allusions to the lieutenant, and some crying out, "Shoot him!" The daughter of Slidell slapped Fairfax in the face three times as she clung to the neck of her father. The marines were called, and Slidell and the two secretaries were compelled to go, when the *Trent* proceeded on her voyage to St. Thomas. The captive ambassadors were conveyed to Boston and confined in Fort Warren, as prisoners of State.

The act of Captain Wilkes was applauded by all loyal men. It was

in exact accordance with the British interpretation of the law of nations, as exhibited theoretically and practically by that government, yet it made a great ado about the "outrage." By most of the writers on international law in the United States, instructed by the doctrines and practices of Great Britain, the essays of British publicists, the decisions of British courts, and by the law as laid down by the Queen's recent proclamation, the act of Captain Wilkes was decided to be abundantly justified; yet, with the same "unseemly haste" that characterized the issuing of the royal proclamation on the 13th of the previous May, the British government prepared for war. It did not wait for a communication on the subject to be received from the United States, but made extensive provisions for hostilities preparatory to sending a peremptory demand for the release of the prisoners; and the Tory press of Great Britain, conducted in the interest of the government, abused the Americans without stint. A single specimen from the columns of the *London Times* will suffice. Speaking of the courteous and accomplished gentleman, Captain Wilkes, the *London Times* said: "He is, unfortunately, but too faithful a type of a people in whose foul mission he is engaged. He is an ideal Yankee. Swagger and ferocity, built upon a foundation of vulgarity and cowardice—these are his characteristics, and these are the most prominent marks by which his countrymen, generally speaking, are known all over the world. To bully the weak, to triumph over the helpless, to trample on every law of country and custom, wilfully to violate the most sacred interests of human nature, to defy as long as danger does not appear, and, as soon as real peril shows itself, to sneak aside and run away—these are the virtues of the race which presumes to announce itself as the leader of civilization and the prophet of human progress in these latter days. By Captain Wilkes, let the Yankee breed be judged."

While the British government was preparing for war, and our Congress was officially thanking Captain Wilkes for his conduct, and other public bodies were bestowing honors upon him, our Government, acting upon the wise counsel of President Lincoln, and true to its long-cherished principles, proceeded to disavow the act of Wilkes and to release the prisoners. That act was in violation of a principle for the maintenance of which, as we have seen, the United States went to war with Great Britain—the principle that the flag of a neutral vessel is a protection to all beneath it. A few hours after the news of the capture reached Washington, the calm and thoughtful President said to the writer: "I fear the traitors will prove to be white elephants. We must stick to American principles concerning the rights of neutrals. We fought Great Britain for insisting, by theory and practice, on

the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done. If Great Britain shall now protest against the act, and demand their release, we must give them up, apologize for the act as a violation of our doctrine, and thus forever bind her to keep the peace in relation to neutrals, and so acknowledge she has been wrong for at least sixty years." Under the instructions of the President, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) acted in accordance with these utterances. The prisoners were released, and the British people blushed for shame because of the impotent bluster of their government, when the fact was promulgated by the American minister, Mr. Adams.



JOHN M. MASON.

JOHN SLIDELL.

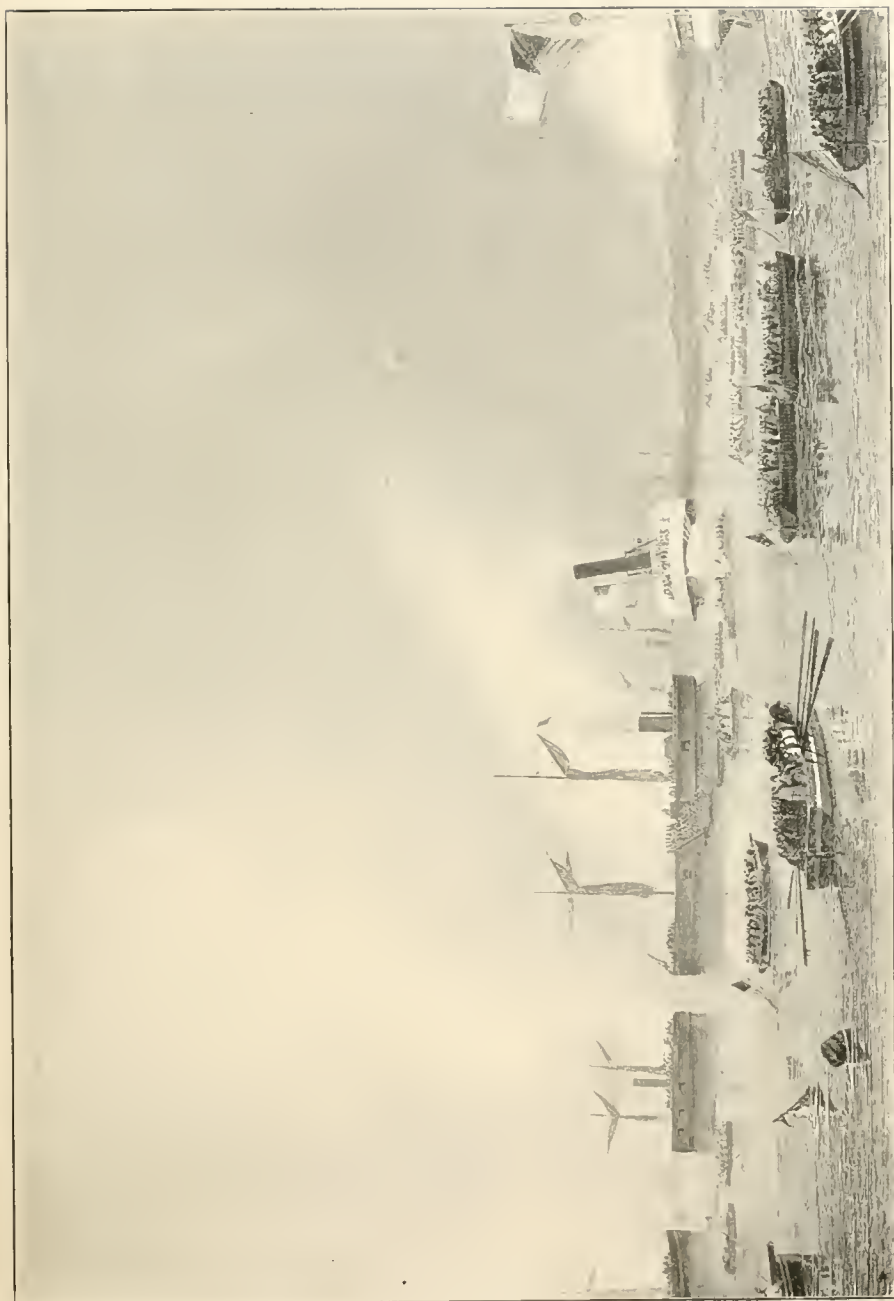
Then the *London Times*, which had called most vehemently for war on "the insolent Republic," in speaking of the demand of the British government for the release of the ambassadors, superciliously declared that they were "worthless booty;" and added, "England would have done as much for two negroes." The ambassadors were treated, in England, with a coolness that amounted to contempt, and they soon passed into obscurity.

The British government acted not only unwisely but dishonorably in the matter. Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, wrote to Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, to demand from our Government the liberation of the captives and "a suitable apology for the aggressions which

had been committed;" and if the demand should not be speedily complied with, to leave Washington, with all the members of the legation. On the day of the date of Earl Russell's despatch, Mr. Seward wrote a confidential note to Mr. Adams, calling attention to the fact that Captain Wilkes did not act under orders from his Government, and expressed a hope that the British government would consider the subject in a friendly manner. He gave Mr. Adams permission to read his note to Lord Russell and the Prime Minister. Mr. Adams did so; and yet the British government, with this voluntary assurance that a satisfactory arrangement of the difficulties might be made, continued its preparations for war with vigor, to the alarm and distress of the people. The fact that such assurance had reached the government was not only suppressed, but, when rumors of it were whispered, it was semi-officially denied. And when the fact could no longer be concealed, it was, by the same authority, affirmed, without a shadow of justice, that Mr. Adams had suppressed it, at the same time suggesting, as a reason, that the American minister might profit by the purchase of American stocks at panic prices!

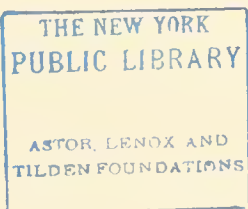
When the excitement, in our country, caused by the "*Trent* affair," was subsiding, early in 1862, public attention was attracted by the fitting out of a third naval armament at Hampton Roads. It was composed of over one hundred war-vessels and transports commanded by Commodore L. M. Goldsborough, and bearing sixteen thousand land troops under General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. The armament left the Roads on the 11th of January (1862), with its destination unknown except to proper officers. That destination was Roanoke Island and Pamlico Sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Off Cape Hatteras the fleet encountered a heavy gale, and it was several days before the whole armament had entered the Inlet.

The Confederates had strongly fortified Roanoke Island with batteries that commanded the Sounds on each side of it. There was also a fortified camp that extended across a narrow part of the island. These fortifications were garrisoned by North Carolina troops then under the command of Colonel H. M. Shaw, and mounted about forty guns. They had also placed obstructions in the channel leading to the island; and above them, in Croatan Sound, was a flotilla of small gun-boats—a sort of "mosquito fleet" like Tatnall's in Port Royal Sound—commanded by Lieutenant W. F. Lynch, late of the National navy. Preparations were made for an attack by land and sea, the first week in February. Goldsborough drew up his fleet of seventy vessels in Croatan Sound, and opened a bombardment upon the batteries. It was kept up all the afternoon, the flotilla and the batteries



From the original painting by Chappell

ATTACK UPON ROANOKE ISLAND



responding to Goldsborough's guns. At midnight, while a cold storm of wind and rain was sweeping over the land and water, about eleven thousand troops were landed on the island, many of them wading ashore. These were New England, New York, and New Jersey troops. They were without shelter, and were drenched. At dawn, led by General J. G. Foster (Burnside's lieutenant), they moved forward to attack the line of intrenchments that crossed the island. The Confederates, far inferior in number, made a gallant defence, going from redoubt to redoubt as one after another fell into the hands of the Nationals. They made a vigorous stand in a well-situated redoubt that was approached by a causeway. There was to be the last struggle in defence of the line. At the head of a part of Hawkins's Zouaves, Major Kimball (a veteran of the war with Mexico) undertook to take it by storm. Colonel Hawkins was then leading a flank movement with a part of his command. Seeing Major Kimball pushing forward, the Colonel joined him, when the whole battalion shouted, "Zou! Zou! Zou!" and pressed to the redoubt. The affrighted Confederates fled and were pursued by Foster five or six miles, when they surrendered, and Roanoke Island passed into the possession of the National forces, with three thousand prisoners and forty-two cannon. The Confederate flotilla went up Albemarle Sound, followed by National gun-boats under Commodore Rowan.

Near Elizabeth, not far from the Dismal Swamp, Rowan attacked the flotilla and some land batteries, driving the Confederates from both, when Lynch and his followers retired into the interior. Then the United States flag was placed upon a shore battery, and this was the first portion of the main of North Carolina that was "repossessed" by the Government. Other portions of the coast of that State were speedily recovered; and on the 18th of February, 1862, Burnside and Goldsborough issued a proclamation jointly to the inhabitants of eastern North Carolina, assuring them



CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

that the Government forces were there not as enemies but as friends, and inviting them to separate themselves from the Confederacy and to return to their allegiance. This disaster, worked by the National forces, produced great depression throughout the Confederacy, for it exposed nearly the whole of the North Carolina main, and opened a way by which Norfolk might be smitten in the rear.

Let us now return to the Mississippi Valley, where we left Fremont's disappointed army sullenly marching back to St. Louis.

Late in 1861, the Department of Missouri was enlarged, and General H. W. Halleck was appointed to the command of it. General Hunter was assigned to the Department of Kansas; General Don Carlos Buell to that of the Ohio, and General E. R. S. Canby to that of New Mexico. Halleck's headquarters were at St. Louis, and he restrained the Secessionists with a vigorous hand. Since the retrograde movement of Hunter, with Fremont's army, Price had been gathering a Confederate force in Missouri, and General John Pope was placed in command of a considerable body of troops to oppose him. Pope acted with great vigor and skill. He made a short, sharp, and effective campaign. Detachments from his army struck some blows here and there that were telling. One was inflicted by troops under General J. C. Davis, on the Blackwater, near Milford, which gave a stunning blow to the insurgents in that State. Davis found the enemy in a wooded bottom opposite his own forces. He carried a well-guarded bridge by storm, and struck the Confederates so hard that they fled in much confusion; and when they were closely pursued, they surrendered, in number about thirteen hundred, cavalry and infantry. The spoils of victory were eight hundred horses and mules, a thousand stand of arms, and over seventy wagons loaded with tents, baggage, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. In a brief space of time, the power of the insurgents in that quarter was paralyzed, and Halleck complimented Pope on his "brilliant campaign."

Pope had not only prevented organized troops from joining Price, but had compelled the latter to withdraw to the borders of Arkansas for supplies and safety. Feeling strengthened by Pope's success, Halleck prepared to put forth more vigorous efforts to suppress the insurrection. On the 3d of December he declared martial-law in St. Louis; and, by a subsequent proclamation, he extended that system of rule to all railroads and their vicinities. Meanwhile, Price, relieved from immediate danger, and being promised reinforcements from Arkansas, moved back to Springfield, and there concentrated about twelve thousand men, halted his army, and prepared to spend the winter there. Halleck sent troops in that direction under General S. R. Curtis, assisted by Generals Davis, Sigel, Asboth, and

Prentiss. They moved in three columns early in February (1862), when Price fled southward, and did not halt until he reached a good position in northern Arkansas. Curtis pursued him, and drove him further south; and Halleck was enabled to write to his Government, late in February, that he had "purged Missouri," and that the flag of the Union was "waving in triumph over the soil of Arkansas." The campaign in Missouri, for a few months, had been very active, beginning with Lyon's pursuit of the fugitive governor and his followers. From June, 1861, until late in February, 1862, there had been fought on Missouri soil sixty battles and skirmishes, with an aggregate loss on both sides, in killed, wounded and prisoners, of about twelve thousand men.

Curtis crossed the Arkansas line on the 18th of February in pursuit of Price, and had driven him and his followers over a range of hills known as the Boston Mountains. He then fell back and encamped in a strong position in the vicinity of Pea Ridge, a spur of the Ozark Mountains. In the meantime Price had been joined by General Earl Van Dorn, a dashing young officer, who was his senior in rank and now took the chief command. Forty heavy guns thundered a welcome. "Soldiers!" cried Van Dorn, in response, "behold your leader! He comes to show you the way to glory and immortal renown. He comes to hurl back the minions of the despots at Washington, whose ignorance, licentiousness, and brutality are equalled only by their craven natures. They come to free your slaves, lay waste your plantations, burn your villages, and abuse your loving wives and beautiful daughters."

Van Dorn came from western Arkansas with Generals McCulloch, McIntosh, and Pike. The latter was a New Englander and poet, who had joined the Confederate army on the borders of the Indian country with a body of savages whom he had lured into the service. The whole insurgent force now numbered twenty-five thousand; the National troops, soon to measure strength with them, did not exceed eleven thousand men in number with fifty pieces of artillery.

When, on the 5th of March (1862), Curtis's scouts told him of the swift approach of the Confederates in overwhelming force, he concentrated his little army in the Sugar Creek Valley. He perceived his perils, but there was only the alternative to fight or make a disastrous retreat. Choosing the former, he prepared to meet the foe from whatever quarter he might approach. Meanwhile Van Dorn, by a quick and stealthy movement, flanked Curtis and gained his rear; and on the morning of the 7th he advanced to attack the Nationals, not doubting his ability to vanquish them and seize their train of two hundred wagons. He found Curtis in battle

order, his first and second division being on his left and commanded by Generals Asboth and Sigel; the third, under General Davis, composing his centre, and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Carr, formed his right. His line of battle extended about four miles, and was confronted by the heavy Confederate force with only a broad and deep ravine covered with fallen trees separating the two armies. The battle was opened toward noon by a simultaneous attack by the Nationals and Confederates. A very severe conflict ensued, which continued a greater part of the day with varying fortunes to each party, the lines of strife swaying like a pendulum. Generals McCulloch and McIntosh of the Confederates were killed, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. At night the Confederates fired the last shot, but the Nationals held the field, slept on their arms, and anxiously awaited the dawn to renew the battle.

Both armies lay among the dead and dying that night. At dawn (March 8, 1862) the conflict was renewed, when the Nationals hurled such a destructive tempest of shot and shell upon the Confederates, that the latter soon broke and fled in almost every direction in wildest confusion. The Confederate army, so strong, and confident of victory twenty-four hours before, was broken into fragments. The losses of each were about the same. Curtis's was thirteen hundred and eighty men. Pike's Indians, who had been maddened with liquor before the battle, tomahawked and scalped a number of the Nationals, and were the first to fly from the field, in terror.

While Halleck was purging Missouri of armed insurgents, Hunter, with his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, was vigorously at work suppressing the insurrection on the borders of Kansas. Active and armed rebellion was now co-extensive with the slave-labor States. Civil war was kindling in General Canby's Department of New Mexico. An attempt was there made to attach that Territory to the Confederacy by the method employed by General Twiggs in Texas, when he betrayed the National forces under his command. Disloyal officers had been sent by Secretary Floyd, for that purpose, a year before the insurrection broke out; but failing to corrupt the troops (for not one of the twelve hundred men abandoned his flag), and incurring their hot displeasure, these leaders fled from their wrath toward Texas. On the borders of that State they found the commander and other officers of Fort Fillmore ready to co-operate with them. These men led out their unsuspecting men and betrayed them into the power of Texan insurgents.

Miguel A. Otero, the representative of New Mexico in the National Congress, was in practical, active sympathy with the Secessionists; and the success of the Confederate cause in that quarter seemed to be assured.

until Canby appeared and raised the standard of the Union, in strength. Around it the loyal people of the Territory gathered; and his regular troops, New Mexican levies, and volunteers, gave him a force sufficient to meet over two thousand Texans, most of them rough rangers under Colonel H. H. Sibley, a Louisianian, who invaded the Territory at the middle of February. He had twenty-three hundred followers, many of them veterans who had much experience in fighting the Indians.



ROUGH RANGERS.

Canby was then at Fort Craig, on the Rio Grande. Sibley issued a proclamation to the people of New Mexico, in which he denounced the National Government, and demanded from the inhabitants allegiance to the Confederacy and support for his troops. Feeling confident of success, he moved slowly toward Fort Craig to attack Canby, when he was astonished to find the general prepared to meet him. He perceived that his light field-pieces would have no effect upon the fort. Unable to retreat or to remain with safety, and unwilling to leave a well-garrisoned post behind him,

Sibley was perplexed. At length he forded the Rio Grande, and took a position out of reach of Canby's guns, for the purpose of drawing out the latter. In this he was successful. After some skirmishing, there was a severe conflict at Valverde, about seven miles from the fort, on the 21st of February. Canby was about to make a general advance, with an assurance of victory, when about a thousand Texans, horse and foot, armed with carbines, revolvers and bowie-knives, suddenly burst from a thick wood and attacked two of the National batteries commanded respectively by Captains McRea and Hall. The cavalry were repulsed; but the insurgent infantry pressed forward while the grape-shot were making fearful lanes through their ranks, and captured the battery of McRea. The brave captain defended his guns with great courage. Seated upon one of them, he fought the assailants with a pistol until he was shot dead. At length the Nationals, panic-stricken by the fierceness of the charge, broke and fled, and did not halt until they reached the shelter of Fort Craig. That flight was one of the most disgraceful scenes of the war; and Canby was compelled to see the victory snatched from him, just as it seemed to be secured. But Sibley, alarmed at the sudden and unexpected development of Canby's strength by accessions to his ranks, hurried toward Santa Fé, the capital of the Territory which he captured but could not hold; and he was soon afterward driven over the mountains into Texas. The Civil War now extended from Maryland in the northeast to New Mexico in the southwest, and was everywhere marked by the vigor and malevolence which generally distinguish such wars.

While these events were occurring westward of the Mississippi, others of great importance had been in progress immediately eastward of its waters, where efforts had been made to expel the Confederates from Kentucky and release Tennessee from their grasp. The region of southern and western Kentucky was then held by the Confederates. They were commanded by an able officer and veteran soldier, A. S. Johnston, who was in charge of the Confederate Western Department, with his headquarters at Nashville. Under the shadow of his military power, the Secessionists of Kentucky had met in Convention in November, 1861, and performed the farce of declaring the State to be independent. They passed an ordinance of secession; organized a provisional government; chose George W. Johnson provisional governor; appointed delegates to the Confederate congress at Richmond, and called Bowling Green the State capital. Fifty-one counties were represented in that "Sovereignty Convention" by about two hundred men, without the sanction of the people. At the same time General Johnston had concentrated a large force at Bowling Green, and

strengthened the position of Polk at Columbus. General Hardee superseded General Buckner; and General Zollicoffer was firmly planted at Cumberland Gap, the chief passage between Eastern Kentucky and East Tennessee. Between the extremes of the Confederate line across Kentucky were fortified posts, the most important of which were Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, and Fort Henry on the Tennessee River.



CAPTAIN MCREA'S DEFENCE OF HIS GUN.

Early in the year, General Buell had organized a large force at Louisville and its vicinity, by which he was enabled to strengthen various advanced posts, and throw forward, along the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway, a large force destined to break the Confederate line across the State. The whole number of troops under his command was one hundred and fourteen thousand, arranged in four columns, commanded respectively by Brigadier-Generals Alexander McDowell McCook, Ormsby M. Mitchel, George H. Thomas and Thomas L. Crittenden acting as major-generals, and aided by twenty brigade commanders. These troops, who were citizens of

States northward of the Ohio River, with loyalists of Kentucky and Tennessee, occupied an irregular line across the first-named State, almost parallel with that of the Confederates.

General McCook was sent, with fifty thousand troops, down the railway toward Bowling Green, and pushed back the Confederate outposts to the south side of the Green River, at Mumfordsville, where a sharp contest occurred, when the insurgents were compelled to move on to Bowling Green. In the meantime stirring events were occurring in eastern Kentucky. On the 7th of January (1862) a body of Confederates under Humphrey Marshall were struck by Union troops, infantry and cavalry, led by Colonel James A. Garfield, near Prestonburg, on the Big Sandy River. The Confederates were dispersed and disheartened, and there Marshall's military career ended. The gallant services rendered by Garfield on that occasion won for him the commission of a brigadier-general. A few days later (January 19) a more important event occurred on the borders of the Cumberland River, further westward, at Beech Grove, near Mill Spring. Near there General Zollicoffer had established a strongly intrenched camp; but early in January he was superseded in command by General George B. Crittenden, his senior in rank. To General Thomas was assigned the duty of attacking this force, and if successful there to push on over the Cumberland Mountains into East Tennessee, where the Secessionists were persecuting the Union people without stint. When he was within ten miles of the Confederate camp, Thomas made preparations for battle. The Confederates had marched to meet the Nationals. They were led by Zollicoffer, and at early dawn on the 18th of January, the hostile troops met. A severe battle was fought, with great persistency on both sides, for the winner would gain an immense advantage for his cause. Thomas won the battle after a fierce contest, in which Zollicoffer was slain; and the discomfited Confederates fled into northeastern Tennessee, suffering intensely for lack of food and shelter in their flight across an almost barren country.

This blow effectually severed the Confederate line in Kentucky, and opened the way for a series of successful movements by which the insurgents were soon driven out of that State, and also Tennessee. The loss of the Nationals was two hundred and forty-seven men; and of the Confederates, three hundred and forty-nine. The spoils of victory were twelve pieces of artillery, a large amount of munitions of war, and more than a thousand horses, with wagons, intrenching tools, camp equipage, etc. For their bravery in the battle of Mill Spring or Somerset, the President publicly thanked General Thomas and his men. They had paralyzed the power of the Confederate line eastward of Bowling Green, and shortened it full one-

half. The bulk of the insurgents and their chief fortifications were then between Nashville and Bowling Green, and the Mississippi River. The defeat was severely felt by the Confederates. They perceived the urgent necessity for a bold, able, and dashing commander in the west, and supposing Beauregard to be such an one, he was ordered to Johnston's Department late in January (1862), and General G. W. Smith, who had been an active Democratic politician in New York city, was appointed to succeed him at Manassas.

The Confederates attributed their disaster at Mill Spring to the misconduct of the leader of the troops, General Crittenden. Some loudly accused him of treachery to the Confederate cause; while others, more charitable and better informed, charged his intemperate habits with the calamity. It was acknowledged by all to be an almost irretrievable misfortune.

When Beauregard left the army at Manassas, he issued a characteristic address to the troops, expressing a hope that he would be among them again, soon. "I am anxious that my brave countrymen here in arms," he said, "fronting the haughty array and muster of Northern mercenaries, should thoroughly appreciate the exigency." In allusion to the disquietude that was manifested by them because of their long enforced inaction, he said that it was no time for that army "to stack their arms, and furl, even for a brief period, the standards they had made glorious by their manhood." But they were much dispirited by the defeat of their armies at Mill Spring, and this was deepened by the capture of Roanoke Island soon afterward. This feeling amounted almost to despair when a more important reverse to their arms occurred on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers at the middle of February.



CHAPTER CXXI.

A Gunboat Fleet—Expedition against Forts Henry and Donelson—Capture of Forts Henry and Hieman—Naval Expedition up the Tennessee—Its Discoveries—Army Reorganized—Siege of Fort Donelson—Change in Temperature—Engagements on Land and Water—A Desperate Measure Attempted—Council of War—Cowardice—Surrender of Fort Donelson—Army Postal Service—Panic at Nashville—Surrender of the City—Provisional Government for Tennessee—Events on the Mississippi River—Siege and Capture of Island Number Ten—Movement toward Corinth—National Army at Pittsburg Landing—Buell's Army on the March.

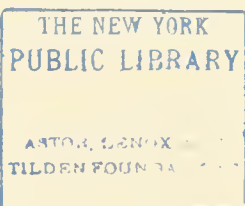
WHEN the Confederate line in Kentucky was broken, the National Government determined to concentrate the forces of Halleck and Buell for a great forward movement to push the Confederates toward the Gulf of Mexico. Fremont's plan for providing gunboats for the western rivers, to co-operate with the armies, had been carried out. Twelve of these vessels (some of them covered with iron-plates) had been constructed at St. Louis and Cairo, and at the close of January these were armed with one hundred and twenty-six heavy guns and some lighter artillery, and were placed under the command of flag-officer A. H. Foote of the National navy. When everything was in readiness, some feints were made to deceive the Confederates. These were reconnoissances down each side of the Mississippi River from Cairo; and Thomas feigned a movement in force against East Tennessee.

In the meantime an expedition against Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, where those streams approach each other to within a distance of about twelve miles, had been prepared. The land troops were placed under the command of General U. S. Grant, assisted by General C. F. Smith. Commodore Foote was called to the Tennessee with his flotilla of gunboats; and at dawn on the 3d of February, 1862, a portion of that flotilla was only a few miles below Fort Henry, on that stream, and the land troops were disembarking from transports. The fort lay at the bend of the stream, on the right bank, and its guns commanded a reach of the river for about two miles. It was armed with seventeen guns, twelve of which could sweep the river. At the time we are considering, the garrison in the fort and troops encamped around it,



From a war-time sketch

BATTLE OF FORT DONELSON ON FEBRUARY 16, 1862



numbered less than three thousand, commanded by General Tilghman, of Maryland, a graduate of the West Point Academy. Grant and Foote had asked and obtained permission of Halleck to attack Fort Henry, and that was the task which they attempted on the morning of the 3d of February.

Both arms of the service proceeded to strike Fort Henry simultaneously. The land force was composed of the divisions of McClernand and Smith. The armed flotilla in hand consisted of the gun-boats *Essex*, *St. Louis*, *Carondelet*, and *Cincinnati*. The river below Fort Henry had been strewn with torpedoes, but these were successfully fished up before the attack. Opposite Fort Henry was Fort Hieman, situated upon a great hill, from which artillery might be brought to bear upon assailants of the former. To silence its batteries, a portion of the land troops went up that side of the river, while others proceeded to gain a point between Forts Henry and Donelson. The flotilla moved forward and opened the contest at noon on the 6th, and before the land troops could reach a position to co-operate, the fort, with its little garrison, had been surrendered to Foote. A tremendous rain-storm, with thunder and wind, which occurred the night before, had made the roads so heavy, and so swelled the little streams, that the march of the troops was difficult and slow. The garrison made a gallant defence; but at the end of one hour's conflict, they were compelled to strike their flag. Fort Hieman was also surrendered. This was a naval victory of great importance, because it proved the efficiency of gun-boats on the narrow western rivers in co-operation with land forces. Therefore the fall of Fort Henry was hailed as a most happy omen of the success of the Union cause. Halleck telegraphed to McClellan: "Fort Henry is ours! the flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed!" The Secretary of the Navy wrote to Foote: "The country appreciates your gallant deeds; and this department desires to convey to you and your brave associates, its profound thanks for the service you have rendered."

This victory inflicted a severe blow upon the power of the Confederates. It gave to the Nationals the possession of formidable and important posts; also a firm footing in the vicinity of stronger Fort Donelson and in the rear of Columbus, on the Mississippi. There was now no obstacle to the river navy in its passage up the Tennessee to the fertile regions of northern Alabama toward the heart of the Confederacy. Thitherward Foote sent Lieutenant-commander S. L. Phelps, on the night after the capture of the fort, with three vessels, to reconnoitre the borders of the river. Those vessels went steadily onward, seizing Confederate vessels and destroying Confederate property, as far up as Florence, in Alabama, at the foot of the

Mussel Shoals. The reconnoissance was a perfect success, for it discovered the weakness of the Confederacy in that region, and developed a most gratifying evidence of genuine Union feeling among the inhabitants of Tennessee which had been repressed by Confederate despotism. Phelps was assured that nothing but the dreadful reign of terror kept thousands from openly manifesting their love for the old flag.

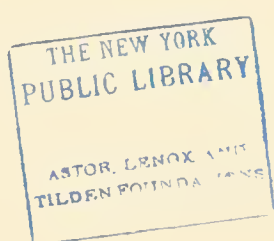
The report of Phelps's reconnoissance was very cheering, and it was determined to attack Fort Donelson, near Dover, the capital of Stewart county, Tennessee. It was a formidable work, situated with a front on the high left bank of the Cumberland River, among hills furrowed by deep ravines, and its irregular lines of outlying intrenchments covering about one hundred acres. General Grant reorganized his army in three divisions, under Generals McClernand, Smith, and Lewis Wallace; and Commodore Foote hurried back to Cairo with three of his gun-boats to take his mortar-boats to the Cumberland River to assist in the attack on Fort Donelson.

The divisions of McClernand and Smith left Fort Henry on the morning of the 12th of February (1862), and marched for Fort Donelson, leaving Wallace with a brigade to hold the vanquished forts on the Tennessee. They invested Fort Donelson the same evening; and after some picket-firing the next morning, General Grant resolved to wait for the arrival of the flotilla (bearing troops that would complete Wallace's division) before making a general attack. On the same morning Ex-Secretary Floyd arrived from Virginia, with troops, and superseded General Pillow, who was in command of Fort Donelson. Floyd and Pillow were materially assisted by General S. B. Buckner, a better soldier than either of them, but he was subordinate to both of the inefficient commanders. All that day (February 13th) there was skirmishing, and toward evening an unexpected enemy appeared in the form of severe frost. The morning had dawned in uncommon splendor, and the air was as balmy as that of late spring; but toward evening a violent rain-storm arose, the temperature fell, and before morning the ground became frozen almost as hard as iron and everything was mailed in ice. The National troops were bivouacked without tents, and they dared not light fires for fear of exposing themselves to the guns of the fort. They were without sufficient food and clothing, and their sufferings were so dreadful that they anxiously awaited the dawn and expected reinforcements.

General Grant perceived the peril of his situation, and had sent to General Wallace to bring his troops over from the Tennessee. The latter moved at day-break on the 14th, the ground encrusted with frozen sleet and the air filled with drifting frost. These troops were in high spirits. With



RETREAT OF THE CONFEDERATES FROM SHILOH



cheering and singing of songs they pressed forward, and at noon their commander dined with General Grant on crackers and coffee. Meantime the armored flotilla, with the transports, had arrived, and Wallace's division was perfected. It was immediately posted between the divisions of McClernand and Smith, and so the thorough investment of the fort was completed. At three o'clock that afternoon, the *Carondelet*, Captain Walke, began the assault on Fort Donelson, and was soon joined by the *St. Louis*, *Pittsburg*, and *Louisville*. Unarmored vessels formed a second line; and the flotilla boldly attacked the water-batteries, but without much effect. The mortar-boats had not arrived; and never were war-vessels exposed to a more tremendous pounding than were the four armored gun-boats in this fight by missiles from the shore batteries. They received, in the aggregate, one hundred and forty wounds, and fifty-four men were killed or wounded. Foote was compelled to withdraw, when he hastened to Cairo to have damages repaired, and to bring up a competent naval force to assist in carrying on the siege. Grant resolved to await Foote's return and for expected reinforcements.

The night of the 14th was an anxious one for both parties. The Confederates, perceiving their peril, held a council of war. Floyd's opinion was that the fort was untenable with less than fifty thousand men to defend it; and that the garrison might be saved only by a *sortie* the next morning to route or destroy the investing army, or to cut through it and escape to the open country in the direction of Nashville. This desperate measure was attempted at five o'clock on the morning of the 15th, by about ten thousand men, led by Pillow and Buckner, the former striking McClernand on the right of the Nationals, and the latter prepared to attack Wallace in the centre. Pillow had boasted that he would "roll the enemy in full retreat over upon Buckner, when the latter, attacking them on the flank and rear, would cut up the Federals and put them completely to rout." The attack was quick and furious; but the troops that first received the shock of battle (Oglesby's brigade), maintained their ground gallantly until their ammunition began to fail. Relief was sent, but the pressure was so great that the whole line gave way excepting the extreme left held by Colonel John A. Logan's Illinois regiment, which stood as firm as a wall and prevented a panic. The good service of the light batteries of Taylor, McAllister and Dresser, made the Confederate line recoil again and again. But fresh troops continually strengthened it, until at length the whole of McClernand's division were in great peril. Then he called upon Wallace for help, and it was given so effectually, that after a hard and skillful struggle on the part of the Nationals, with the Confederate forces of Buckner and Pillow combined,

the latter were compelled to fall back to their trenches. "I speak advisedly," wrote Colonel Hillyer (Grant's aide-de-camp) to Wallace, the next day, "God bless you! You did save the day on the right."

In the meantime General Smith had been smiting the Confederate right such telling blows, that when darkness fell upon the scene, the Nationals were victorious and the vanquished Confederates were imprisoned within their trenches, unable to escape.

Finding themselves closely held by Grant, the question, "How shall we escape?" was a paramount one in the minds of the Confederates, especially of Floyd and Pillow. They were both terror-stricken by the impending danger of falling into the hands of their outraged Government. At midnight, Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner held a private council at Pillow's quarters in Dover, where it was concluded that the garrison must be surrendered. "But, gentlemen," said Floyd, nervously, "*I cannot surrender; you know my position with the Federals; it won't do, it won't do.*" Pillow then said: "I will not surrender myself nor my command—*will die first.*" "Then," said Buckner, coolly, "I suppose, gentlemen, the surrender will devolve upon me." The terrified Floyd said, quickly, "General, if you are put in command, will you allow me to take out, by the river, my brigade?" "If you will move before I offer to surrender," Buckner replied. "Then, sir," answered Floyd, "I surrender the command." Pillow, who was next in rank, and to whom Floyd offered to transfer the command, quickly exclaimed, "I will not accept it—I will never surrender." As he spoke he turned toward Buckner, when the latter, with the courage, the manliness and the honor of a soldier, said: "I will accept, and share the fate of my command."

Within one hour after that conference, Floyd, with a part of his Virginians, deserted his companions-in-arms and fled up the river, toward Nashville, in a steamboat. At the same time Pillow sneaked away in the darkness, after declaring he would "die" before he would surrender, and finally escaped to his home in Tennessee. History affords no meaner picture than this. The indignant authorities at Richmond suspended both the cowards from command; and an epigrammatist of the day wrote as follows concerning Floyd's escape:

"The thief is a coward by Nature's law;
Who betrays the State, to no one is true;
And the brave foe at Donelson saw,
Their light-fingered Floyd was light-footed too."

Early the next morning—the Christian Sabbath—Buckner asked for the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of surrender. Grant

replied: "No terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." This answer was followed by the speedy surrender of the fort, and of thirteen thousand five hundred men as prisoners of war; and the spoils of victory were three thousand horses, forty-eight field-pieces, seventeen heavy guns, twenty thousand muskets, and a large quantity of military stores. This catastrophe greatly dispirited the Confederates; and from the time when the fact became known in Europe, no court ever entertained an idea of recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy. It was estimated that during the siege the Confederates lost two hundred and thirty-seven killed and one thousand wounded. The estimated loss of the Nationals was four hundred and forty-six killed, seventeen hundred and fifty-five wounded, and one hundred and fifty who were made prisoners, and who, being sent across the river, were not recaptured.

The admirably arranged army mail-service was begun at Forts Henry and Donelson, under the auspices of General Grant, to whom it was suggested by Colonel A. H. Markland, special agent of the National Post-office. In the following letter to me, dated "July 30, 1866," General Grant gives a brief account of its origin:

"DEAR SIR—

"Among the subjects that occupied my mind when I assumed command at Cairo, in the fall of 1861, was the regular supply of mails to and from the troops; not only those in garrison, but those on the march when active movements should begin. When I commenced the movement on Fort Henry, on January 7, 1862, a plan was proposed by which the mails should promptly follow, and as promptly be sent from the army. So perfect was the organization that the mails were delivered to the army immediately upon its occupation of the fort. Within one hour after the troops began to march into Fort Donelson, the mail was being distributed to them from the mail wagons. The same promptness was always observed in the armies under my command, up to the period of the final disbandment. It is a source of congratulation that the postal service was so conducted, that officers and men were in constant communication with kindred and friends at home, and with as much regularity as the most favored in the large cities of the Union. The postal system of the army, so far as I know, was not attended with any additional expense to the service. The system adopted by me was suggested and ably superintended by A. H. Markland, special agent of the Post-office Department. Respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, *General.*"

The chaplain of each regiment was recognized at first as "Regimental Postmaster." Afterward, the mails were "brigaded." They were placed in canvas bags at the General Post-office and sent to each brigade, under charge of military authority. The Post-office Department had no further control of the army mails after they left the office at Washington city. The regularity with which the great armies of Grant, Sherman, Thomas and others in the West, as well as those in the Atlantic States, were supplied with mails, under the general superintendence of Colonel Markland, was marvelous. He and his assistants encountered dangers as appalling as those to which the soldiers were exposed—perils from bullets, fatigue and privations—yet they never lost a mail by capture, over which they had personal control. The mail was nearly always in advance of the armies, or moving in a direction to meet them. The number of letters thus carried was enormous. "For months," wrote Mr. S. J. Bowen, the Postmaster of Washington city, in a letter to me dated July 26, 1866, "we received and sent an average of 250,000 military letters per day. It is believed that this number was exceeded after General Sherman's army reached Savannah, and up to the time of the review of the troops in this city in the month of May, 1865." He says that the vast number of packages of clothing and articles of every kind which were sent by the mails, reached their destination as regularly as if the recipient lived in a large city. The only loss of any moment which this extra service inflicted upon the Post-office Department, was in mail-bags. "It is estimated," wrote Mr. Bowen, "that at least thirty thousand of these were sent out which never found their way back to this office, though every effort was made by us to have them returned." This army mail-service presents one of the moral wonders of the great conflict; and its value, in keeping whole armies in continual communication with friends at home, is incalculable. It was a powerful preventive of that terrible home-sickness with which, at first, raw troops are often prostrated; and it brought the sweet influence of the domestic circle to bear most powerfully in strengthening the men against the multifarious temptations of army life.

It was clearly perceived by General A. S. Johnston, that the fall of Fort Donelson rendered Bowling Green and Columbus untenable, and their evacuation was ordered to take place immediately. The troops at Bowling Green, who were menaced by the swiftly approaching advance of Buell's army under the energetic General Mitchel, were ordered to retire to Nashville. They did so, in haste, after destroying their property at Bowling Green valued at half a million dollars, and were followed by the *Army of the Ohio*. At the same time National gun-boats ascended the Cumberland

River and co-operated with troops marching on that place. These movements created a fearful panic among the Secessionists. The governor of Tennessee (Harris) was made almost crazy by alarm. He rode through the streets of Nashville, with his horse at full speed, crying out that the papers in the Capitol must be removed, for he well knew what evidences of his treason they contained. He and his guilty compeers gathered as many of the archives as possible and fled by railway to Memphis, while officers of the banks in Nashville bore away the specie from the vaults of those institutions. Citizens, with their most valuable possessions that were portable, crowded the stations of railways that extended to Decatur and Chattanooga. Every kind of wheeled vehicle was brought into requisition, and the price of hack hire was raised to twenty-five dollars an hour. The authorities gave up all as lost. The public stores were thrown wide open, and everybody was allowed to carry off provisions and clothing without hindrance. The panic was more intense because of the sudden reaction from joy occasioned by a foolish boast of Pillow, on Saturday, that victory for the Confederates was sure. It was followed by a despatch from him while the armies were yet struggling and the Confederates had gained a slight advantage, in which he said: "*Enemy retreating! Glorious result! Our boys following and peppering their rear!! A complete victory!!*" The people were comfortably seated in the churches, and the ministers were prepared to preach congratulatory sermons, when the astounding news of the fall of Fort Donelson and the cowardly desertion of the post by Floyd and Pillow reached them. Pillow's act was a crushing commentary on his foolish boast, and the people pronounced his doom of disgrace before the authorities at Richmond had promulgated it.

Johnston and his troops moved rapidly southward from Nashville, and the city was surrendered to the Nationals by the municipal authorities, on the 26th of February, 1862. These events, following so closely upon the capture of Roanoke Island and the operations in its vicinity, produced great alarm throughout the Confederacy. The loyal people of the land were elated; and the Confederates being virtually expelled from Tennessee, the State government abdicated by its fugitive governor, and much latent loyalty being displayed, the National Government proceeded to re-establish civil government there. Andrew Johnson, of East Tennessee, was appointed provisional governor with the military rank of brigadier-general, and he entered upon his duties, at Nashville, on the 4th of March, 1862.

The Mississippi River now became the theatre of stirring events. Beauregard, as we have observed, had been sent West, and was now in command of troops on the borders of the mighty stream, above Memphis: and,

obedient to orders from Richmond, he directed General Polk to evacuate Columbus, and transfer his troops and as much of the munitions of war as possible to places of greater safety. New Madrid, Madrid Bend, and Island Number Ten were chosen for this purpose. Meanwhile Commodore Foote had put in motion a fleet of gun-boats on the Mississippi, and accompanying transports bore two thousand troops under General W. T. Sherman. When, on the 4th of March, this armament approached Columbus, the Union flag was seen floating there. It had been unfurled the previous evening by a scouting party of Illinois troops from Paducah, who found the fortifications deserted. Sherman left a garrison at Columbus, and Foote returned to Cairo to prepare for a siege of New Madrid and Island Number Ten, which constituted the key to the Lower Mississippi. The Confederates at the former place were commanded by General McCoun, and those on Island Number Ten were under the charge of General Beauregard, in person, who sent forth pompous proclamations to the inhabitants. He called for bells wherewith to make cannon, and there was a liberal response. "In some cities," wrote a Confederate soldier, "every church gave up its bells. Court-houses, public institutions, and plantations sent theirs. And the people furnished large quantities of old brass of every description—andirons, candlesticks, gas-fixtures, and even door-knobs. I have seen wagon-loads of these lying at depots waiting shipment to the foundries." They were all sent to New Orleans. There they were found by General Butler, who sent them to Boston, where they were sold at auction.

General Pope, dispatched from St. Louis by General Halleck, drove the Confederates from New Madrid on the night of the 13th of March. They fled to Island Number Ten, which then became the chief object of attack by the Nationals. Beauregard had thoroughly fortified it, and Foote attacked it with heavy guns and mortars on the morning of the 16th of March. The siege went on with varying fortunes for both parties until early in April. While Foote was pounding and rending the fortifications of Beauregard, Pope at New Madrid was chafing with impatience to participate in the siege. His guns easily blockaded the river (there a mile wide, and then flowing at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour); but he desired to cross it to the peninsula and attack the Island in the rear, and so insure its capture with its dependencies, their garrisons and munitions of war. But the Tennessee shore was lined with batteries garnished with heavy guns; and until these could be silenced, it would be madness to attempt to cross the river with any means at Pope's command. Pope was at his wit's end, when General Schuyler Hamilton made the extraordinary proposition to

cut a canal from the bend of the Mississippi, near Island Number Eight, across the neck of a swampy peninsula, to the vicinity of New Madrid, of sufficient capacity to allow the passage of gun-boats and transports, and thereby effectually flank Island Number Ten, and insure its capture. Hamilton offered to do the work with his division of soldiers, and to have it completed in the space of a fortnight. Pope sanctioned the measure, and it was performed in nineteen days under the direction of Colonel Bissell of the Engineers. The labor was most fatiguing. The canal was twelve miles long, one-half the distance through a growth of heavy timber, where a way was made, fifty feet wide, by sawing off trees in some places four feet under water.

Meanwhile Foote had not been idle, but made preparations for closer assaults than the long reach of great guns and mortars afforded. On the night of the first of April an expedition composed of Illinois troops and seamen, to the number of one hundred, proceeded to take one of the seven formidable redoubts on the Kentucky shore, and were successful. This daring feat was followed on the night of the 3d, by another. Pope had frequently called upon Foote to send gun-boats to his assistance. At length the gallant Captain Walke, of the *Carondelet*, obtained permission of his commander to attempt to run by the Confederate batteries with his vessel. The feat was successfully performed at midnight while a fearful thunder-storm was raging. The flashes of lightning revealed her passage to the commanders of batteries on the shore, and she was compelled to run the gauntlet of a tremendous cannonade from them all. The *Carondelet* did not return a shot. Only after she had reached a place of safety below were her guns heard; then three of them announced to anxious Commodore Foote that she had escaped all perils. She was welcomed by the troops at New Madrid with wildest huzzas.

Perceiving the peril that awaited them when the canal should be completed, the Confederates sunk steamboats in the channel of the river to prevent gun-boats descending it, and they unsuccessfully attempted to escape from the Island. After the *Carondelet* had passed the batteries, Beauregard was satisfied that the siege must speedily end in disaster, and he was not disposed to bear the responsibility; so, after turning over the command on the Island to General McCall, and leaving the troops on the Kentucky and Tennessee shores in charge of General McCoun, he, with a considerable number of the best soldiers, departed for Corinth to check a formidable movement of National troops through middle Tennessee toward northern Alabama and Mississippi. McCall, on assuming the command, issued a flaming proclamation; but within thirty-six hours he and his troops

prepared to escape from the Island. They were interrupted in their movements by General Pope's forces under Generals Stanley, Hamilton, and Paine; and Island Number Ten, with the troops, batteries and supports on the main, were surrendered to the Nationals on the 8th of April. Over seven thousand men were surrendered prisoners of war; and the spoils of victory were one hundred and twenty-three cannons and mortars, seven thousand small-arms, many hundred horses and mules, four steamboats afloat, and a very large amount of ammunition.

The fall of Island Number Ten was a calamity to the Confederacy from which it never recovered. It produced widespread alarm in the Southern States; for it appeared probable that Memphis, one of their strongholds on the Mississippi, where they had immense workshops and armories, would soon share the fate of Columbus, and that National war-vessels would speedily patrol the great river from Cairo to New Orleans. Martial-law was proclaimed at Memphis, and the specie in the banks there was taken to places of supposed safety. Troops that guarded the city and panic-stricken residents proposed to lay the town in ashes if it could not be saved from "northern invaders." The zeal of these madmen was cooled by the sensible Mayor Park, who publicly proclaimed that "he who attempts to fire his neighbor's house, or even his own whereby it endangers his neighbor's, regardless of judge, jury, or the benefit of clergy, I will have him hung to the first lamp-post, tree, or awning." At Vicksburg, preparations were made for flight, and the disloyal inhabitants of New Orleans were oppressed with fearful forebodings of impending calamity. The governor of Louisiana, who was a leading Secessionist, issued a despairing appeal to the people. "An insolent and powerful foe is already at the castle gate," he said. "The current of the mighty river speaks to us of his fleets advancing for our destruction, and the telegraph wires tremble with the news of his advancing columns. In the name of all most dear to us, I entreat you to go and meet him." But there was little disposition to comply with the governor's wishes; and when a letter from Beauregard, which he sent by his surgeon-general, making an urgent demand for New Orleans to send five thousand troops to him, at once, "to save the city," was read to the First and Second City Brigades, who were called out, their reply was, "We decline to go." Their city then needed defenders below instead of above it.

It seemed as if the plan devised by Fremont was about to be successfully carried out. Curtis had already broken the military power of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi, at the battle of Pea Ridge; and a heavy force was then making its way up the Tennessee toward Alabama and Mississippi, and had, at the moment of the surrender of the famous Island,

achieved a most important victory on the left bank of that stream not a score of miles from Corinth. Curtis, after the battle and the flight of the vanquished Confederates, finding no enemy to fight in that region, gave his army ample time to rest, and then marched in a southeasterly direction toward the Mississippi River and encamped at Batesville, the capital of Independence county, Arkansas, on the White River.

After the capture of Fort Donelson, General Grant had prepared to push toward Corinth, an important position on the line of the Charleston and Memphis Railway. Troops had been sent up the Tennessee River; and finally, at the beginning of April, the main body of Grant's army were encamped between Pittsburgh Landing, on the left bank of that stream, and the Shiloh Meeting-House, the latter in the forest two miles from the river. The grand objective was Corinth. There the Mobile and Ohio Railway intersected the Charleston and Memphis roads. The seizure of that point, as a strategic position of vital importance, was Grant's design. It would give the National forces control of the great railway communication between the Mississippi and the East, and the border slave-labor States and the Gulf of Mexico. It would also facilitate the capture of Memphis, toward the accomplishment of which Foote was now bending his energies, and it would add strength to the movements of Curtis in Arkansas.

In the meantime General Buell's army had slowly made preparations to march southward and join Grant's forces, which were, at first, encamped at Savannah, on the right bank of the Tennessee; but it was not until near the close of March, when Grant's position had become really perilous, that Buell left Nashville. He sent part of his force under General Mitchel in the direction of Huntsville, in northern Alabama, to seize and hold the Charleston and Memphis Railway; while the main body, composed of the divisions of Generals Thomas, McCook, Nelson, Crittenden and T. J. Wood, moved more to the westward by way of Columbia, at which place the troops left the railway and marched slowly toward the Tennessee River.



CHAPTER CXXII.

The Nationals and Confederates at Shiloh—Battle of Shiloh: Its Events and Results—The Confederate Retreat to Corinth—Siege and Capture of Corinth—General Mitchel's Raid into Alabama—Recovered Territory—Raid upon a Railway—Capture of Memphis—Capture of New Berne and Fort Macon—Events on the Coast of North Carolina—Siege and Capture of Fort Pulaski—Conquests on the Southern Coasts—Expedition against New Orleans—Capture of Forts on the Mississippi—Destruction of the Confederate Flotilla—Seizure of New Orleans—Hatred of General Butler.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD, who had left Island Number Ten with a considerable body of Confederate troops, and had hastened to Corinth to prepare for resisting the grand movement of the Nationals southward, now confronted the latter near Shiloh Meeting-House with a very large force. He had been joined by the troops under General A. S. Johnston that fled from Nashville, and that officer was now Beauregard's chief lieutenant, assisted by Generals Polk, Hardee, Bragg, and Breckenridge. With these expert leaders, the Confederates came up from Corinth in a heavy rain-storm in separate columns, and concentrated a few miles from Shiloh Meeting-House. They came so stealthily that they were within four miles of the National camp before they were discovered by Grant's sentinels. There they halted on the 5th of April, 1862, to await the arrival of Van Dorn and Price, who were approaching Memphis with a large force from central Arkansas. Already the Confederate army of eleven thousand men at Corinth a short time before, had increased to forty thousand men.

Intelligence came of Buell's march to join Grant, and on the evening of the 5th it was resolved to strike the Nationals before the dawn next morning, for it was evident the latter were not aware of the near presence of the strong force of the Confederates. At a council of war that made this decision, Beauregard, pointing toward the Union army, said: "Gentlemen, we sleep in the enemy's camp to-morrow night." At that time General W. T. Sherman's division was lying in the woods near Shiloh Meeting-House. General Prentiss's division was planted across the road leading directly to Corinth, and General McClernand's division was behind Prentiss's

right. In the rear of these and between them and Pittsburg Landing lay General Hurlburt's division, and that of General Smith led by General W. H. L. Wallace. General David Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division lay upon a road leading to Hamburg, above Pittsburg Landing, and General Lewis Wallace, with his division, was at Crump's Landing, several miles below, observing Confederate movements at Purdy, and covering the river connections between Pittsburg Landing and Savannah. To the latter place General Halleck forwarded supplies for the National army. So little was an attack by the Confederates suspected, that no intrenchments had been cast up by the Nationals, and Buell's army was marching leisurely across Tennessee.

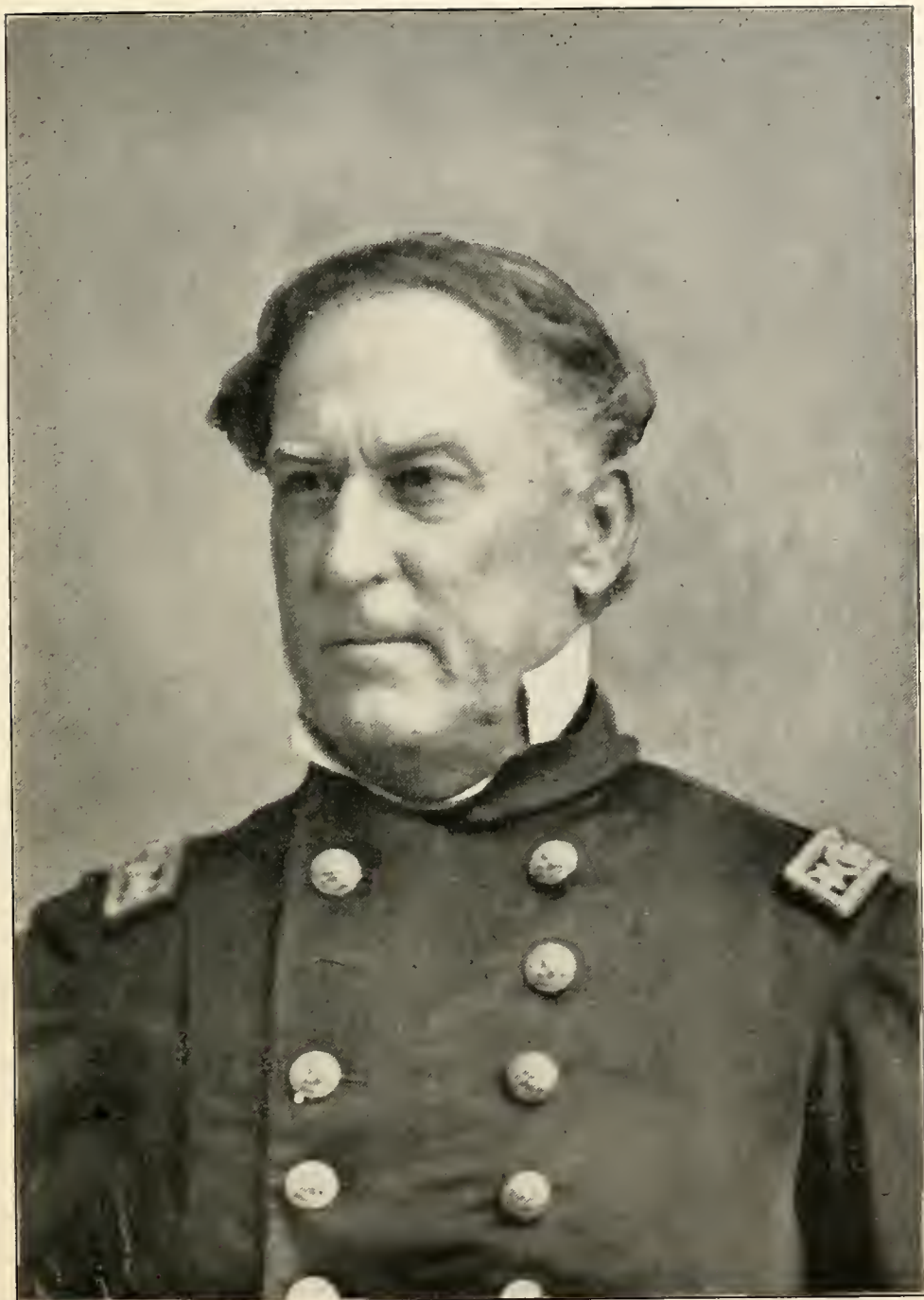
Almost the first intimation of the near presence of the Confederates was the wild cry of pickets flying into camp and a sharp attack upon Sherman's troops by Hardee's division, before the day had fairly dawned on Sunday morning, the 6th of April. Some of the officers were slumbering; some were dressing; a portion of the troops were washing and cooking, and others were eating breakfast. Screaming shells crashed through the forest, and bullets whistled among the tents. Hardee's troops poured into the camp of the bewildered Nationals, fighting desperately, driving half-dressed and half-armed troops before them, and dealing death and terror on every hand. Fearful results followed. Prentiss's division was next attacked. His column was shattered; himself and a large portion of his followers were made prisoners, and his camp was occupied by the Confederates. The struggle soon became general, and for ten hours the battle raged, with varying fortunes on both sides. General W. H. L. Wallace of the Nationals and General Johnston of the Confederates had been killed, and the slaughter on both sides had been severe. The National army was pushed back to the Tennessee River, then brimfull with a spring flood, and the day was fairly lost by the Union troops. The victorious Confederates occupied all the Union camps excepting that of the slain Wallace, where General McArthur was now in command. In the rear of this division the smitten army had now gathered in a space not more than four hundred acres in extent, on the verge of the river. They could be pushed back no further; and so certain was Beauregard of his final triumph, that he telegraphed a shout of victory to Richmond.

General Grant had directed the storm on the National side with great skill, but his forces, at twilight, were in a most perilous position. A single vigorous blow, then given by Beauregard, might have justified his shout of victory; but he dealt a feeble one, that was parried by the guns of two boats, the *Tyler* and *Lexington*, which had just appeared, and by those of

a hastily formed battery on the shore. Grant's safety was fully assured when, at evening, the van of the slow-moving army of Buell appeared on the opposite shore of the Tennessee, and other portions of it came up the river during the night. At midnight General Lewis Wallace arrived with his division, and then the palm of victory was snatched from the hands of Beauregard.

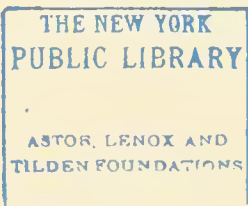
In the morning twilight of the 7th, Wallace opened the contest anew on the Confederate left, where Beauregard commanded in person. Others soon joined in the battle, and it became general all along the line. The Confederates fought gallantly, but were speedily pushed back by a superior force; and when they perceived that all was lost, they fled, under a storm of blinding sleet and cold rain, to the heights of Monterey in the direction of Corinth. They were covered, in their retreat, by a rear-guard of twelve thousand men commanded by Ex-President Breckenridge. The Confederates had lost over ten thousand men in the engagement, of whom full three thousand died during the retreat of nine miles. Fifteen thousand Nationals were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The slain on the battle-field were soon buried, the dead horses were burnt, and the hospital-vessels sent down the Tennessee by the Nationals were crowded with the sick and maimed. Beauregard's shattered army fell back to Corinth, and Grant was about to pursue and capture it, when General Halleck, his superior in rank, who had come up from St. Louis and took the supreme command, caused the impatient troops to loiter until the Confederates, recuperated, were prepared for another contest.

Twenty days after the battle, Halleck and his army had advanced nine miles toward Corinth; and a week later (May 3) they were near that place, making vigorous use of pickaxe and spade in piling up fortifications for prosecuting a siege. This labor continued twenty-seven days longer, interrupted by frequent sorties from Corinth, when the Confederates were driven from their advanced batteries, and Halleck prepared for a sanguinary conflict the next day. The Confederates had been much strengthened by delay; but Beauregard was not disposed to fight the *Grand Army of the Tennessee*, as it was now called. All the night of the 29th of May, the National sentinels had heard and reported the unceasing roar of moving cars at Corinth; and at daybreak, just as Halleck sent out skirmishers to "feel the enemy," the earth was shaken by a series of explosions, and dense columns of smoke rose above the town. There was no enemy to "feel." Beauregard had evacuated Corinth during the night, burnt and blown up whatever of stores he could not carry away, and fled, in haste, to Tupelo, many miles southward from Corinth, where he left General Bragg in com-



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

ADMIRAL DAVID G. FARRAGUT



mand, and retired to mineral springs in Alabama, for the restoration of his impaired health. Halleck took possession of Corinth, and was soon afterward called to Washington to perform the duties of General-in-Chief of all the armies of the Republic. He left General Thomas in command at Corinth, and General Grant of his old army, with enlarged powers.

When General Buell moved from Nashville to join Grant, he sent the energetic General Mitchel southward, as we have observed. After Mitchel left the more cautious Buell, his was a sort of independent command, and he pushed on vigorously. On the 4th of April, he was at Shelbyville, Tennessee, sixty miles from Nashville, where he established a depository of supplies. There he left the railway, and after rapid marches with a light supply-train, he crossed the State line on the 10th into Alabama, and was in front of Huntsville on the morning of the 11th before the dawn. Fatigue parties tore up the railway at each end of the town, while the cavalry marched directly into the place. The unsuspecting sleepers were awakened by the clatter of the horses' hoofs in the streets. The surprise was complete. The inhabitants, wrote an eye-witness, "flocked to door and window, exclaiming, with blanched cheek and faltering tongue, 'They come! they come! the Yankees come!'" Men rushed into the streets half-dressed, the women fainted, the children screamed, the darkies laughed, and for a time a scene of perfect terror reigned." The spoils of this bloodless victory were seventeen locomotives, more than a hundred passenger cars, and a large amount of supplies of every kind; also one hundred and sixty prisoners. By it Mitchel secured the control of the Charleston and Memphis Railway from Tusculumbia on the west to Stevenson on the east, a distance of about one hundred miles. He also won the control of the Tennessee River for about the same distance.

This work was accomplished without the loss of a single man; and when Corinth fell into the possession of the Nationals at the beginning of June, all Kentucky, western and middle Tennessee, and northern Mississippi and northern Alabama, were recovered from the Confederates. It was confidently expected that East Tennessee would be immediately released from the power of the insurgents; but General Buell, who had now joined Mitchel, would not listen to the earnest entreaties of that officer, to add that loyal and sorely oppressed region to the emancipated territory. The way had been prepared by General Negley and others. Negley had climbed over the almost impassable mountains northeast of Stevenson, driven the Confederates from Jasper (June 7), and appeared on the Tennessee River opposite Chattanooga. He needed only a little help to enable him to seize and hold that key to East Tennessee and Northern Georgia. The help was

refused by General Buell. When, at the middle of June, the East Tennesseans saw the insurgents evacuate Cumberland Gap, voluntarily, they surely expected the long hoped-for deliverance, by the advent of National troops; but Buell refused to walk in at that open door. That cautious leader and the fiery Mitchel could not work in harmony, and the latter was now transferred to another field of duty.

Mitchel had performed important services for the National cause by the exercise of judicious audacity. He smote so swiftly and effectually, that he appalled his enemies; and one of the most daring enterprises undertaken during the war was put in motion by that general. It was an effort to break up railway communication between Chattanooga and Atlanta. For this purpose he employed J. J. Andrews, who had been in the secret service of General Buell. With twenty-two picked men Andrews walked to Marietta in the guise of Confederate citizens of Kentucky seeking in Georgia freedom from persecution. At Marietta they took the cars for a station not far from the foot of the Great Kenesaw Mountain, and there, while the conductor and engineer were at breakfast, they uncoupled the engine, tender and a box-car, from the passenger train, and started up the road at full speed, answering questions where they were compelled to stop by saying they were conveying powder to Beauregard. They had passed several trains before they began their destructive work. Then the next train that reached the broken spot, had its engine reversed and became a pursuer. Onward they sped with the speed of a gale, passing other trains, when, at an important curve in the road, after destroying the track, Andrews said, exultingly, "Only one more train to pass, boys, and then we will put our engine to full speed, burn the bridges after us, dash through Chattanooga, and on to Mitchel, at Huntsville."

The exciting chase continued many miles. The pursued having less burden than the pursuers, were fleetest; but so much time was lost in stopping to cut telegraph wires and tear up the track, that at length the pursued were prevented from doing either, for the pursuers were close upon them. Finally their lubricating oil became exhausted; and such was the speed of the engines that the brass journals on which the axles revolved were melted. Fuel failing, the fugitives were compelled to leave their conveyance fifteen miles from Chattanooga. They took refuge in the tangled woods of Chickamauga Creek. A great man-hunt was organized. The mountain passes were picketed; and thousands of horsemen and foot-soldiers, with several blood-hounds, scoured the country in all directions. The whole party were finally captured, and thus ended one of the most exciting events in human history. The sequel was that Andrews and seven

of his companions were hanged. To each of the survivors of that daring raid, the Secretary of War presented a bronze medal, in token of approval.

While these events were occurring in the interior of Tennessee, Commodore Foote had been busy on the Mississippi River. He went down that stream from Island Number Ten, with his armed vessels, and transports bearing Pope's army, to attempt the capture of Memphis, but was confronted at the first Chickasaw Bluffs, eighty miles above that city, by a Confederate flotilla under Captain Hollins, and three thousand troops under General Jeff. Thompson, who occupied a military work on the bluff called Fort Pillow, then in command of General Villepigue, an accomplished engineer. Foote began an attack on the 14th; but General Pope's troops, who had landed on the Arkansas shore, could not co-operate because the country was flooded. Pope was soon called by Halleck to Shiloh, and the navy was left to do the best it could. Foote was soon obliged to turn over the command to Captain C. H. Davis, on account of the painfulness of his foot from a wound received at Fort Donelson.

On the 10th of May, Hollins, who had reorganized his flotilla, attacked Foote, and was assisted by the heavy guns of Fort Pillow, but the Confederate vessels were repulsed. For a fortnight afterward the belligerent fleets watched each other, when a "ram" squadron, prepared by Colonel Charles Ellet, Jr. (the builder of the Niagara Suspension Bridge), joined Foote's flotilla, and prepared to attack the foe. The Confederates, having heard of their disaster at Corinth, fled precipitately to Memphis on the 4th of June. Two days afterward the National flotilla won a victory over the Confederate squadron in front of that city, when Memphis passed into the possession of the Union forces, and it was speedily occupied by troops commanded by General Lewis Wallace. For a short time after these events, there was a lull in the storm of war westward of the Alleghany Mountains.

We left General Burnside and Commodore Rowan in Albemarle Sound after the capture of Roanoke Island and Elizabeth City and vicinity, preparing to make other important movements on the coast of North Carolina. They appeared in the Neuse River, eighteen miles below New Berne, on the evening of the 12th of March (1862); and early the next morning National troops led by Generals Foster, Reno and Parke, about fifteen thousand strong, were landed and marched against the defences of that town. The Confederates, under General Branch, who were inferior in numbers, occupied a strongly intrenched position. The Nationals moved against them at daylight on the morning of the 14th. The Confederates sustained a severe battle with great bravery and skill until, closely pressed on all sides by superior numbers, they broke, and fled across the Trent

closely pursued by Foster. They burned the bridges behind them and so escaped, leaving their killed and wounded and two hundred men, who were made prisoners. The Nationals then took possession of New Berne; when General Parke proceeded to capture Fort Macon, on a point of Bogue Island near the entrance to Beaufort harbor. In this enterprise the National troops were assisted by gun-boats controlled by Commander Samuel Lockwood. The garrison made but slight resistance, and on the 25th of April, it was surrendered. At the same time the National troops under General Reno were quietly taking possession of important places on the coast of North Carolina, and threatening Norfolk in the rear. Plymouth, Winton and Washington were occupied by the National forces. Garrisons for these places so widely dispersed Burnside's troops, that he could no longer make aggressive movements, and he remained quietly in his department until he was summoned to Fortress Monroe at the middle of July. He held almost undisputed sway over the coast region from the Dismal Swamp to the Cape Fear River.

At the close of 1861, the National authority (as we have observed) was supreme along the Southern coast from Warsaw Sound, below the Savannah River, to the North Edisto well up toward Charleston. At the close of the year, General T. W. Sherman, in command in that region, directed his chief engineer, General Q. A. Gillmore, to reconnoitre Fort Pulaski, and report upon the feasibility of a bombardment of it. It was done, and Gillmore reported that it might be reduced by planting batteries of rifled guns and mortars on Big Tybee Island southeast of Cockspur Island, on which the fort stood. Explorations were made to discover some channel by which gun-boats might get in the rear of the fort, and a New York regiment was sent to occupy Big Tybee Island. A channel was found, and land troops under General Viele, borne by gun-boats commanded by Captain John Rodgers, went through it to reconnoitre. Another expedition composed of land troops under General Wright, and gun-boats commanded by Fleet-Captain Davis, were sent by Admiral Dupont up to the Savannah River, by way of Warsaw Sound, Wilmington River and St. Augustine Creek, in rear of Fort Pulaski. The gun-boats of Rodgers and Davis had a skirmish with Tattnell's "mosquito" fleet; and having accomplished their object, the whole National force returned to Hilton Head, to the great relief of the inhabitants of Savannah, who supposed the expedition was abandoned. Soon afterward, however, the Nationals made a lodgement on Jones's Island, and erected a heavy battery at Venus's Point, also a smaller one on Bird Island, and so effectually closed the Savannah River in the rear of Fort Pulaski. It was absolutely blockaded near the close of February

(1862); and on the 8th of March General David Hunter arrived as successor of General Sherman in command of the Department of the South, and he and Commodore Dupont, who was in command of the navy on that coast, acted in concert.

With great skill General Gillmore had planted his siege-guns on Big Tybee Island that commanded the fort; and on the 10th of April (1862), after Hunter had demanded its surrender and the commander of the fortress had refused compliance, thirty-six heavy rifled cannons and mortars were opened upon it under the direction of Generals Gillmore and Viele. It was gallantly defended until the 12th, when it was so battered that it was untenable, and it was surrendered. This was an important victory, for it enabled the Nationals to close the port of Savannah against the blockade-runners, which had become numerous and bold all along our coast.

In the meantime Commodore Dupont and General Wright had been making easy conquests on the coast of Florida. Early in February they captured Fort Clinch, on Amelia Island, which the Confederates had seized, and drove the insurgents from Fernandina. The Confederates speedily abandoned their other forts along the coasts of Florida and Georgia, which the Nationals took



S. F. DUPONT.

possession of; and a flotilla of gun-boats and transports, bearing land troops under Lieutenant T. H. Stevens, went up the St. John's River and captured Jacksonville on the 11th of March. St. Augustine was taken possession of at about the same time by Commander C. P. Rodgers, and the alarmed Confederates abandoned Pensacola and all their fortifications on the main opposite Fort Pickens. When Dupont returned to Port Royal, he found General T. W. Sherman in possession of Edisto Island; and before the first anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the whole coast from Cape Hatteras to Perdido Bay west of Fort Pickens,

excepting at Charleston and its immediate vicinity, had been abandoned by the Confederates.

At the beginning of 1862 the National Government had determined to repossess itself of the important positions of Mobile, New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Galveston, by which it might maintain the National supremacy over the Lower Mississippi, and attempt the occupancy of Texas. General Benjamin F. Butler was placed in command of the Department of the Gulf, which included these points, and comprised the whole theatre of proposed operations. He was directed to co-operate with the navy in the important enterprise; and as the first object of the expedition was New Orleans, he suggested Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, as a rendezvous for the land and naval forces. He gathered his troops at Fortress Monroe. When all was in readiness, he visited Washington, and on leaving the President, he said: "Good-bye; we shall take New Orleans or you will never see me again." Secretary Stanton said: "The man who takes New Orleans is made a lieutenant-general." Butler embarked at Fortress Monroe, with his wife, his staff, and about fourteen thousand troops, in the magnificent steamship *Mississippi*. He suffered vexatious delays at Port Royal; and it was thirty days before he reached Ship Island, a desolate sand-bar, without a house; and only a few charred boards could be found to make a shanty for the shelter of Mrs. Butler. General Phelps was there with Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, and had strengthened an unfinished fort on the Island. Admiral Farragut had also arrived with a naval force; also a fleet of bomb-vessels commanded by Commodore David D. Porter, prepared to co-operate with the land and naval forces.

At a short bend in the Mississippi River, seventy-six miles from its passage into the Gulf of Mexico, were two forts—Jackson and St. Philip. These, with some fortifications above and obstructions in the river below, seemed to the Confederates to make the stream absolutely impassable by vessels of an enemy; and they believed New Orleans, where there were ten thousand insurgent troops under General Mansfield Lovell (a former politician of New York), to be perfectly safe from invasion. The people continued their occupations, as usual; and one of the journals said: "Our only fear is, that the northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them that it were vexation if their invincible armada escapes the fate we have in store for it." The test was soon made.

General Butler and the two naval commanders arranged a plan for the capture of New Orleans, which comprehended an attack on the forts below the city, first, by Porter's bomb-vessels, Farragut with his stronger vessels

remaining as a reserve until the guns of the fort should be silenced. Failing in this, Farragut was to attempt to run by the forts, clear the river of Confederate vessels, isolate the forts and cut off their supplies and supports. Then General Butler was to land his troops in the rear of Fort St. Philip (the weaker one), and attempt to carry it by assault. This done, the land and naval forces were to press on toward New Orleans. The general command of the river defences of the Confederates was intrusted to General J. K. Duncan, formerly an office-holder in New York.

On the 17th of April the fleets of Farragut and Porter were in the river, with the former as chief commander of the naval forces; and Butler, with about nine thousand troops, was at the Southwest Pass. The fleets comprised forty-seven armed vessels, and these, with transports bearing troops, went up the river, Porter's mortar-boats leading. When these approached the forts, their hulls were besmeared with Mississippi mud; and the masts, yards and rigging, were so covered with the branches of trees, that under this disguise they were enabled to take a position near the forts unsuspected. As when "Birnam Wood" moved "toward Dunsinane," the stratagem was successful. The Mississippi was full to the brim; and a boom and other obstructions near Fort Jackson was swept away by the flood.

A battle was begun on the morning of the 18th (April, 1862), by a shot from Fort Jackson. Porter's mortar-boats responded. The latter were supported by the gun-boats; but after pounding the fortifications several days, Farragut, satisfied that he could not reduce them, prepared to run by them in the night of the 23d. The mortar-boats led the way, and the remainder of the navy followed, gallantly breasting the swift-flowing current that went over the river banks and flooded every bayou. The perilous passage of the forts was begun at two o'clock in the morning. The mortar-boats were to cover the movement of the gun-boats. Farragut, in his flag-ship *Hartford*, with two other strong vessels, was destined to keep near the right bank of the river and fight Fort Jackson; while Captain Theodorus Bailey, commanding eight gun-boats, was to keep closely to the eastern bank and fight Fort St. Philip. To Captain Bell was assigned the duty of attacking the Confederate fleet above the forts, with six gun-boats.

The night was intensely dark, and a tremendous battle was waged between the mortar-boats and the forts. The gun-boats as they came up gave the latter heavy broadsides of grape and canister shot, which drove the garrison from their barbette guns. The scene soon became grand and terrible. Fire-rafts, sent down by the Confederates, blazed fearfully, and "rams" plunged against the National vessels with terrible force. The *Hartford* (Farragut's flag-ship), which was a wooden vessel, was set on fire,

but the flames were soon extinguished. The fleet had scarcely passed the forts when it was assailed by a large flotilla of "rams" and gun-boats. A grand and awful scene followed. The noise of twenty mortars and two hundred and sixty great guns, afloat and ashore, made a terrific sound. The explosion of shells that struck deep in the oozy ground, shook the land and water like an earthquake. "Combine," wrote an eye-witness, "all that you ever heard of thunder, and add to it all that you have ever seen of

lightning, and you have, perhaps, a conception of the scene," in the darkness before daylight.

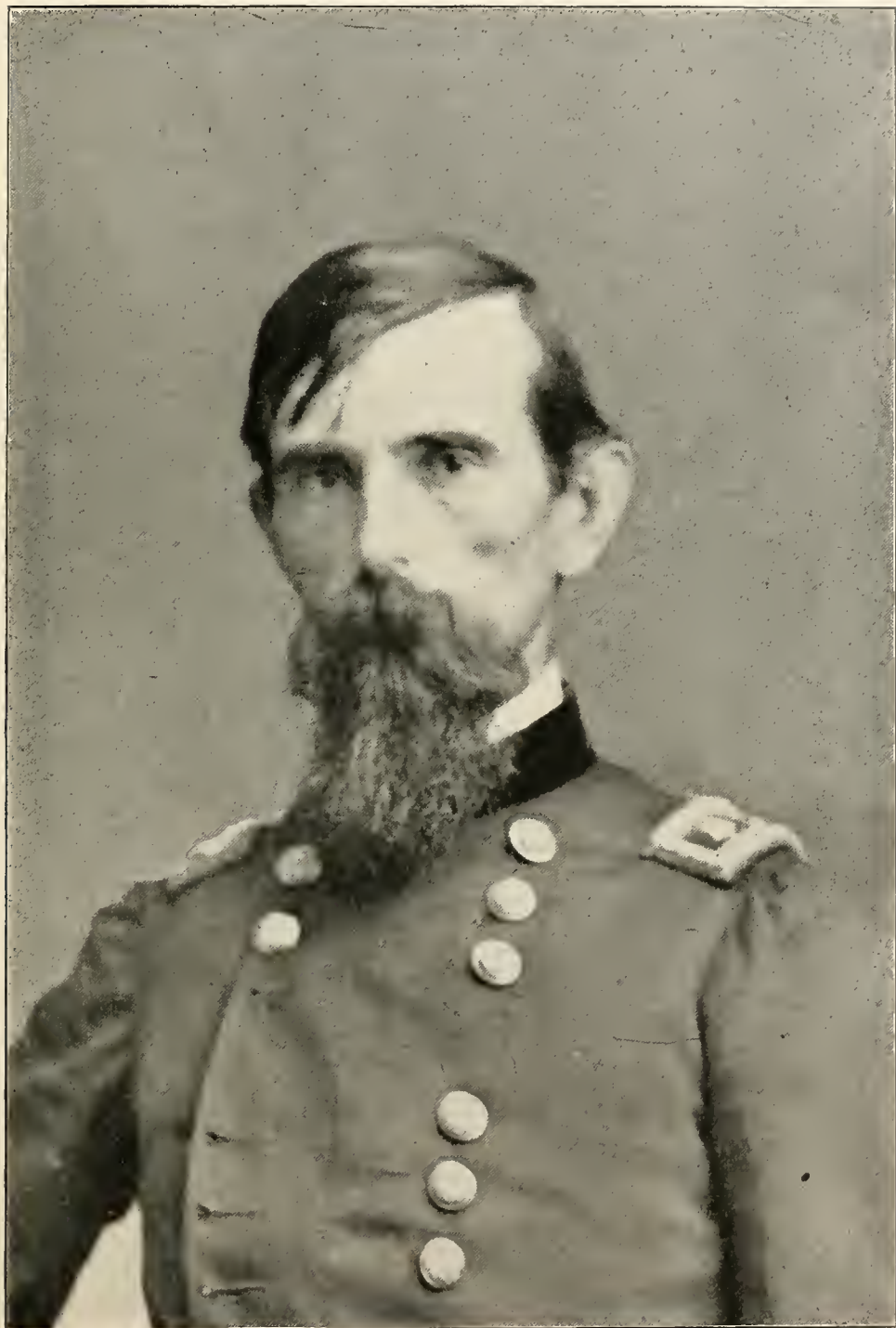
In that fearful struggle, the Nationals were victorious. From the fore-rigging of his ship *Farragut* had watched the combat through his night-glass, and conducted it as far as possible. Within the space of half an hour after the National vessels had left their anchorage, the forts were passed, the great struggle had occurred, and eleven vessels—nearly the whole of the Confederate flotilla—were destroyed. For awhile Captain Bailey sustained the fight with the Confederate flotilla almost unsupported, when Captain Boggs came to his assistance with the gun-boat *Varuna*, which immediately became the chief object of the wrath of the enemy.

In his report Captain Boggs said

that immediately after passing the forts, he found himself "amid a nest of rebel steamers." The *Varuna* rushed in among them (for the river was too narrow to permit her to avoid them), and fired broadsides right and left as she passed. The first one that received her fire was crowded with troops. Its boiler was exploded, and the vessel was run ashore. The *Varuna* ran three other gun-boats ashore, and had desperate struggles with the "rams," until, badly wounded, she began to sink, when her commander tied her bow to trees and took out her crew and the wounded, while his latest antagonist was burning to the water's edge. So ended one of the fiercest combats



D. G. FARRAGUT.



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJOR-GENERAL LEW WALLACE



of the war. It was "short, sharp, and decisive." In that struggle on the bosom of the river, the Nationals lost only thirty killed and not more than one hundred and twenty-five wounded. The fleet, after the fight, rendezvoused at Quarantine, just above Fort St. Philip, and that was the first public property "repossessed" by the Government, in Louisiana.

While the battle was raging near the forts, General Butler landed his troops, and in small boats they went through narrow and shallow bayous in the rear of Fort St. Philip. The alarmed garrison mutinied, spiked the guns, and sallying out surrendered to Butler's pickets, declaring that they had been pressed into the service, and would fight no more. Porter had continued to bombard Fort Jackson, and after the fall of Fort St. Philip, it was surrendered to that officer with nearly one thousand men.

Meanwhile Farragut (who had thirteen vessels in safety above the forts) had gone up to New Orleans with his fleet, where a fearful panic prevailed, for the inhabitants had heard of the disasters below. Drums were beating; soldiers were seen hurrying to and fro; merchants had fled from their stores; women without bonnets and brandishing pistols were seen in the streets crying, "Burn the city! Burn the city! Never mind us! Burn the city!" Military officers impressed vehicles into the service of carrying cotton to the levees to be burned; and specie to the amount of \$4,000,000 was sent out of the city by railway. Millions worth of other property, with a large number of citizens, had left the doomed town, among them General Twiggs, who betrayed his troops in Texas. Like Floyd, he feared the wrath of his injured Government, and fled, leaving behind him the two swords which had been awarded him for gallantry in Mexico, to fall into the hands of the invaders. And when, on the 25th of April, 1862, Farragut approached the city with nine vessels, General Lovell and his troops fled, the torch was applied to the cotton on the levee, and along the river front for miles a sheet of roaring flames burst forth. In that conflagration fifteen thousand bales of cotton, a dozen large ships and as many fine steamboats, with unfinished gunboats and other large vessels, were burnt. The value of cotton, sugar, and other products destroyed, was immense. The citizens were held in durance by Farragut's guns, until the arrival of General Butler on the first of May, when the latter landed with his troops, took formal possession of the defenceless town, and made his headquarters at the St. Charles hotel. Butler ruled New Orleans with the rigor of martial-law. Informed that a man named Mumford had pulled down the National flag where Farragut had unfurled it over the Mint, and had treated it in derision, Butler caused his arrest and his immediate trial on a charge of treason. He was convicted and hanged; the only man who has ever

suffered death for that crime since the establishment of our National Government.

The loss of New Orleans was a terrible blow for the Confederates. "It annihilated us in Louisiana," wrote a Confederate historian, "diminished our resources and supplies by the loss of one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within the limits of the Confederacy, gave to the enemy the Mississippi River with all its means of navigation for a base of operations, and finally led, by plain and irresistible conclusions, to our virtual abandonment of the great and fruitful valley of the Mississippi."

The loss of New Orleans produced the greatest irritation in the public mind throughout the Confederacy, and the rigor of Butler's rule there excited the most violent personal hatred of the general. When he was about to leave New Orleans, Jefferson Davis, the chief of the Confederacy, issued a proclamation in which he pronounced Butler to be "a felon deserving of capital punishment"; and he ordered that he should not be "treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw, and common enemy of mankind"; and that, "in the event of his capture, the officer in command of the capturing force, do cause him to be immediately executed, by hanging." He also ordered that the same treatment should be awarded to all commissioned officers serving under Butler. A "Georgian" offered a reward of \$10,000 "for the infamous Butler." Richard Yeadon, a prominent citizen of Charleston, publicly offered a reward of \$10,000 "for the capture and delivery of the said Benjamin F. Butler, dead or alive, to any Confederate authority." A "Daughter of South Carolina," in a letter to the *Charleston Courier*, said: "I propose to spin the thread to make the cord to execute the order of our noble President Davis, when old Butler is caught; and my daughter asks that she may be allowed to adjust it around his neck." And Paul R. Hayne, a South Carolina poet, wrote:

"Yes! but there is *one who shall not die*
In battle harness! One for whom
Lurks in the darkness silently
Another and a sterner doom!
A warrior's end should crown the brave;
For *him*, swift cord and felon's grave!"



CHAPTER CXXIII.

Army of the Potomac—Armies Ordered to Move—McClellan's Plan of Operations—Evacuation of Manassas—"Promenade" of the Union Army—McClellan Relieved—The "Monitor" and "Merrimac"—Events in the Shenandoah Valley—Battle at Kernstown—Army of the Potomac on the Peninsula—Siege of Yorktown—Magruder's Strategy—Battle at Williamsburg—Tardy Movements—McClellan and the President—Capture of Norfolk—Military Events in the Valley—Battles at Winchester, Cross Keys and Port Republic—The "White House"—On the Chickahominy—Confederate Government Rebuked—Fatal Hesitation—Battle at Fair Oaks—Stuart's Raid.

WHILE great activity prevailed in the valley of the Mississippi, the *Grand Army of the Potomac*, under General McClellan, had been lying almost inactive much of the time, in the vicinity of the National capital. It had, however, been growing in numbers and discipline; and early in 1862, it was composed of full two hundred thousand men. The battles of Ball's Bluff and Drainsville, already mentioned, had prevented its rusting into absolute immobility; and the troops were gladdened, from time to time, by promises of an immediate advance upon the Confederates at Manassas. On account of that expectation, very little had been done toward placing the troops in winter-quarters, and much suffering and discontent were the consequence. Efforts were made by many officers to break the monotony of camp-life; and the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) permitted the musical Hutchinson family to visit the camps and sing their simple and stirring songs. They were diffusing sunshine through the gloom of the army by delighting crowds of soldiers who listened to their sweet melody, when their career was suddenly checked by the following order:

"By direction of General McClellan, the permit given to the 'Hutchinson Family' to sing in the camps, and their pass to cross the Potomac, are revoked, and they will not be allowed to sing to the troops."

Why not? Because a few of the officers of the army were afraid of offending the confederated slaveholders, and the Hutchinson's had been guilty of singing Whittier's stirring song, then lately written, to the tune of

Luther's Hymn, "Ein feste burg ist unser Gott," in which, among eight similar verses, was the following:

"What gives the wheat-fields blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On th' old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks th' oath
Of th' men o' th' South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?
Hark to the answer: *Slavery.*"

On the 13th of January, 1862, the energetic Edwin M. Stanton succeeded Simon Cameron, as Secretary of War, and infused new life into the service. The people had become impatient; and the President, satisfied that longer delay was unnecessary, issued a general order on the 27th of January, in which he directed a simultaneous forward movement of "all the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces on the 22d day of February next ensuing. This order sent a thrill of joy through the heart of the loyal people, and it was heightened when the President ordered McClellan to move against the inferior force of Confederates at Manassas. Instead of obeying, McClellan remonstrated, and proposed to take his army to Richmond by the circuitous route of Fortress Monroe and the Peninsula, between the York and James rivers, instead of attempting, with his large and well-equipped army, to press the Confederates back to their Capital. The President strongly urged the trial of the direct movement, as less expensive in time and money, and less perilous to the army; but McClellan so steadily resisted this plan, that the patient Lincoln consented to submit the matter to a council of officers. They decided in favor of McClellan's plan by a vote of eight to four. The President acquiesced, but with many misgivings, which the result justified. The General-in-Chief had declared that he intended to wait for the forces in the West to gain victories before he should move upon Richmond. Well, the *Grand Army of the Potomac* had not fairly inaugurated its campaign in the spring of 1862, before the active little army of General Grant, and the forces under Generals Pope, and Buell, and Mitchel, and the gun-boats of Foote, had accomplished far more in the West than McClellan ever dreamed of being possible.

Informed that McClellan (who would not trust his commander-in-chief with his military secrets) intended to take to the Peninsula nearly the entire *Grand Army of the Potomac*, the President issued an order on the 8th of

March, that no change of base in the operations of that army should be made without leaving a competent force for the protection of the Capital, that not more than fifty thousand troops should be removed toward the Peninsula until the navigation of the Potomac from Washington to the Chesapeake should be freed from the enemy's batteries and other obstructions; that the new movement should begin as early as the 18th of March and that the army and navy should co-operate in an immediate attack upon the Confederate batteries on the Potomac. Meanwhile the Confederates at Manassas had retired, and were falling back toward Richmond, in fear of the execution of the President's order to move upon them on the 22d of February. When McClellan heard of this evacuation he crossed the Potomac and ordered his whole army to advance, not, as he afterward explained, to pursue the alarmed fugitives and to take Richmond, but to give his own army a little active experience "preparatory to the campaign!" After making a grand display of power at abandoned Manassas and a little beyond, the army moved back to Alexandria. This "promenade" (as one of McClellan's aids, a scion of the royal Orleans family of France called it) of the *Grand*



GENERAL McCLELLAN.

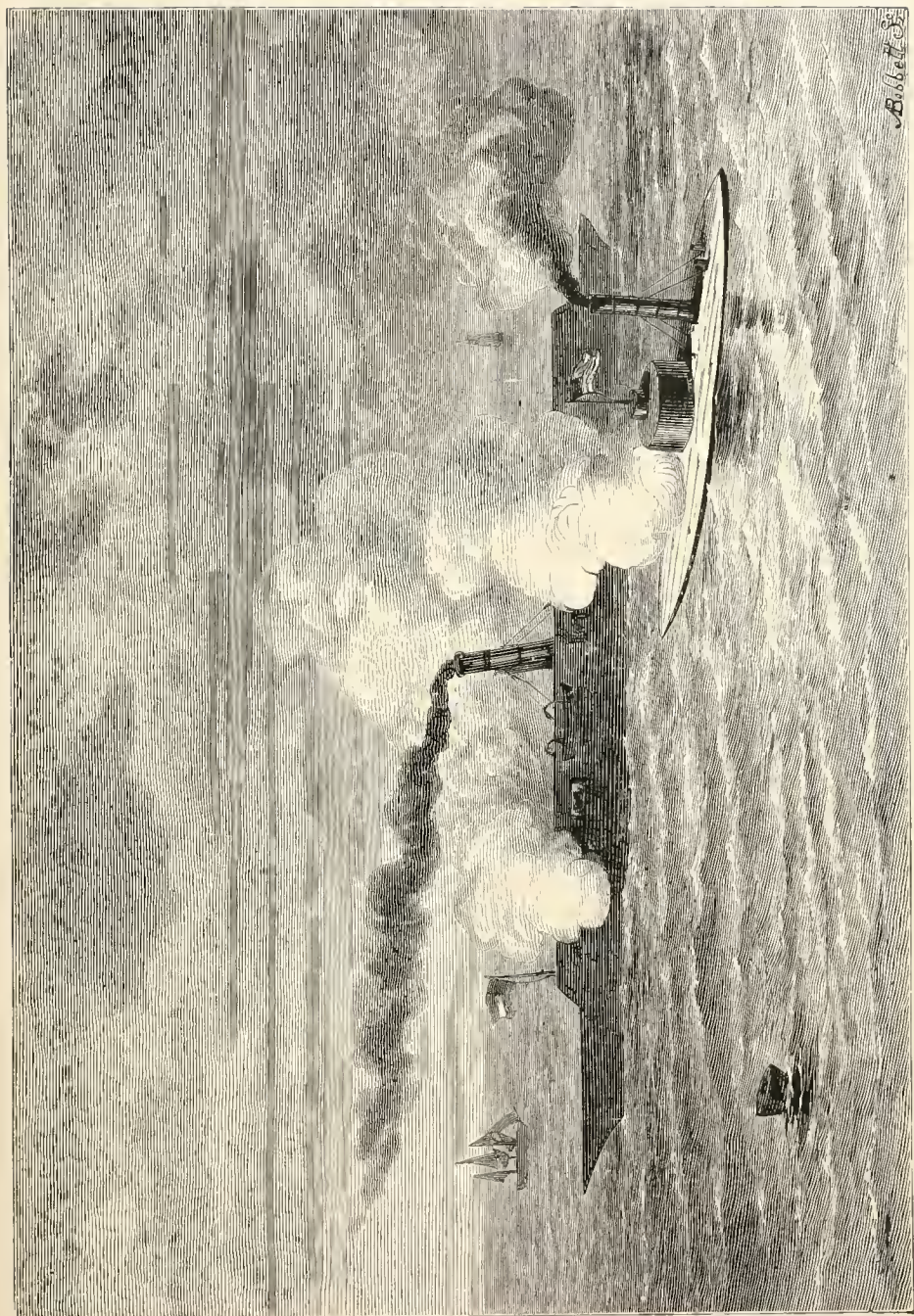
Army of the Potomac, disappointed the people and disgusted the President, who, satisfied that McClellan's official burdens were greater than he could profitably bear, kindly relieved him of the chief care of the armies, on the 11th of March, giving him command of the *Department of the Potomac*.

At the moment when the Confederates evacuated Manassas, a strange naval battle occurred in Hampton Roads. The insurgents had raised the *Merrimac*, one of the vessels that was sunk in the river at Norfolk, and had converted it into an iron-clad warrior, which they named *Virginia*, commanded by Captain Buchanan of our navy. On the 8th of March, this

vessel attacked and destroyed the wooden sailing frigates *Congress* and *Cumberland*, at the mouth of the James River, and it was expected she would annihilate other transports and war-vessels in Hampton Roads, the next morning. Anxiously the army and navy officers in that vicinity passed the night of the 8th. There seemed to be no competent human agency near to arrest the impending disaster, when, at a little past midnight, a strange craft entered the Roads, from the sea, unheralded and unknown. It appeared like a floating platform, sharp at both ends, lying almost level with the surface of the water, and having a round tower made of heavy iron. This tower was pierced for two guns. It was twenty feet in diameter, and about ten feet in height above the platform; and it was made to revolve so as to bring its heavy guns within to bear upon an object, independently of the position of the vessel. This strange craft had been constructed at New York, under the direction of the eminent civil engineer and scientist, Captain John Ericsson, and took the name, so appropriate after its first display of power, of *Monitor*. The little vessel was in command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, of the navy, and had been towed to the Roads, after encountering a heavy gale and rolling sea, by a steamship. It was her trial-trip.

On his arrival, Worden reported to the flag-officer in the Roads, and learning the situation of affairs there, he promptly prepared to meet the iron-clad monster from Norfolk the next morning—the Sabbath. That morning dawned brightly, and in the gray twilight (March 9, 1862), the *Merrimac* was seen sweeping out of the Elizabeth River on its destructive errand. The *Monitor*, like a little David, moved to meet the Confederate Goliath, whose commander looked with contempt upon the “floating cheese-box,” as he called his strange antagonist; but he soon found it to be a citadel, strong and well filled with destructive energy. Her revolving turret was invulnerable to the heaviest shot and shell thrown by her antagonist, and they glanced from the tower like pebbles from granite. The conflict that ensued was terrific. The ponderous missiles hurled from the *Monitor* soon bruised the *Merrimac* so fatally, that she fled up to Norfolk, her wounded commander confounded by the energy of his mysterious little antagonist. The *Merrimac* did not venture out again. The gallant Worden, who was regarded as the saviour of his country at a critical moment, was severely injured by having cement around the “peep-hole” in the turret through which he was watching his antagonist, thrown violently in his face by a heavy shot that struck that point. He has been rewarded with the commission of Admiral.

The exploit of the *Monitor* seemed to promise safety to National vessels



ATTACK OF THE "MONITOR" ON THE "MERRIMAC"



navigating the James River; and McClellan prepared to transfer the Army of the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, which place he designed to make a base of supplies for his army while marching on Richmond. To secure Washington city, it was necessary to hold the Confederates in check in the Shenandoah Valley, where they were led by the zealous and gallant "Stonewall Jackson." He had been defeated by the dashing General Lander, at Blooming Gap, on the 14th of February; and when Johnston and his Confederates evacuated Manassas, Jackson had taken post at Winchester. General N. P. Banks was then in command of National troops near Harper's Ferry, destined for operations in the Shenandoah Valley; and when Jackson went further up that valley, he sent General Shields in pursuit. Shields soon turned back, and with a considerable body of troops encamped at Winchester. Jackson, reinforced, came down the Valley in force, infantry and cavalry, and attacked Shields at Kernstown just west of Winchester. Shields had only about seven thousand men, and twenty-four heavy guns. The battle that ensued (March 22, 1862) was short and severe. Shields was badly wounded. The Confederates were defeated, and fled up the valley closely pursued by Banks, who remained in that region to watch the insurgents while McClellan should move upon Richmond.

It was not until April when the Army of the Potomac began its campaign on the Virginia Peninsula. General McClellan had transferred a larger part of that army to Fortress Monroe, leaving about seventy-three thousand troops for the defence of Washington. At the beginning of April there were one hundred and twenty-one thousand men at Fortress Monroe (exclusive of the forces of General Wool), and a large portion of these now moved, in two columns, up the Peninsula; one column under General Heintzelman marching near the York River, and another under General Keyes, near the James River. A comparatively small Confederate force, under General J. B. Magruder, had formed a fortified line across the Peninsula, in the pathway of the Nationals; and by skillful tricks, Magruder so deceived McClellan as to the number of the Confederates, that the invaders were kept at bay, below Yorktown, nearly a month, while their leader was calling for reinforcements to enable him to break through the opposing line. Yorktown was regularly besieged under the direction of General Fitz John Porter, though the number of the Nationals was ten times as large as that of the Confederates. An attempt to carry the intrenchments on the Warwick River, by a division under General Smith of Keyes's column, caused a sharp engagement. It failed; and finally Magruder fell back to a line of strong intrenchments

in front of Williamsburg, where, on the 3d of May, he wrote, after describing his strategy: "Thus, with five thousand men, exclusive of the garrison, we stopped and held in check over one hundred thousand of the enemy. . . . I was amused when I saw McClellan, with his magnificent army, begin to break ground before miserable earthworks [at Yorktown] defended by only eight thousand men." General Sumner, with the main body of the Nationals, had pursued the Confederates to Williamsburg, while McClellan remained at Yorktown to forward troops under General Franklin up the York River, to strike the left flank of the insurgents.

General Joseph E. Johnston, who had hastened to the Peninsula after the evacuation of Manassas, was now in chief command in front of McClellan. Leaving a strong guard at Williamsburg to check the pursuers, Johnston fell back with his main army toward Richmond, with the intention of fighting the Nationals when they should approach that city. But he was compelled to fight sooner than he expected, for gallant and energetic men—Generals Hooker, Kearney and Hancock—attacked that rear-guard on the 5th of May. Hard-pressed, Johnston sent back a large portion of his army to help them. A sanguinary battle followed. Hooker began the assault, knowing a large body of troops were within supporting distance, and for full nine hours he bore the brunt of the battle. Then Kearney came to his aid, and, Hancock having turned the flank of the Confederates, the latter precipitately retreated. In this perilous movement they were led by General James Longstreet, the ablest and best of the Confederate leaders in the war.

On the morning after the conflict, McClellan came upon the battle-field, just as the victors were about to press on in pursuit of the fugitives, who had left about eight hundred of their wounded behind them in their flight. He had kept Franklin so long at Yorktown, that the latter could not flank the Confederates; and now, when the latter were flying evidently in a panic, the Commander-in-Chief would not allow a pursuit, but moved leisurely forward during the next ten or twelve days, reaching the Chickahominy River when Johnston was safely encamped beyond it. Experts on both sides declared, that had a vigorous pursuit followed the events at Williamsburg, the Confederate army might have been captured or dispersed. Franklin had secured a firm foothold at near the head of the York River, which was made the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac in its earlier operations against Richmond. In the battle at Williamsburg, the Nationals lost twenty-two hundred men, of whom four hundred and fifty-six were killed. The Confederate loss was about one thousand.

More than a month, after General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe, had been consumed in moving only thirty-six miles toward Richmond, and the army had suffered fearful losses by sickness. Very few perished by the weapons of the enemy during the month's siege of Yorktown, "but disease," said General J. G. Barnard, McClellan's chief engineer, in his report at the close of the campaign, "took a fearful hold of the army; and toil and hardships, unredeemed by the excitement of combat, impaired their *morale*. We did not carry with us from Yorktown so good an army as we took there. Of the bitter fruits of that month gained by the enemy, we have tasted to our heart's content." Twenty of the thirty days that the army lay before Yorktown were marked by heavy thunder-showers, following in quick succession. The troops, wearied and overheated by labor, lay on the damp ground at night, and were chilled. "In a short time," wrote Dr. Marks, a participant, "the sick in our hospitals were numbered by thousands, and many died so suddenly that the disease had all the aspects of a plague."

One cause of McClellan's tardy advance was his constant fear of not having troops enough to meet the energetic Johnston. Before his army left Washington, Blenker's division of ten thousand men were taken from it to strengthen Fremont, who was in command of the Mountain Department beyond the Blue Ridge; and soon afterward McDowell's army corps were detached from McClellan's immediate command, and its leader instructed to report directly to the Secretary of War. McDowell was ordered to a position where he might assist in the defence of the Capital, or in an attack upon Richmond, as circumstances might require. General Wool, with his ten thousand men at Fortress Monroe, was also made independent of McClellan's orders, although, like McDowell, he was directed to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac as far as possible. General McClellan, perceiving these indications of a lack of implicit confidence in his judgment, and feeling that he might be denied support at any time, startled the President on the 7th of April by telegraphing to the Secretary of War that he had only eighty-five thousand effective men, and might be called upon to confront one hundred thousand Confederates. He had just reported that he had over one hundred thousand effective troops. The President asked him to explain, and urged him to strike the foe before they should gather in greater strength on his front. Instead of that, McClellan continued to halt and complain of a want of troops. The President urged him to act. "The country will note—it is now noting," Mr. Lincoln said, "that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated." The Presi-

dent expressed the kindest feelings toward the general, and closed his letter with the remark, "But you must act." Still he hesitated and complained; and although, at the close of April, just before the Confederates evacuated Yorktown, he reported one hundred and twelve thousand soldiers on the Peninsula fit for duty, he complained that the lack of McDowell's force prevented Franklin striking the fugitives from Williamsburg on the flank. It is asserted that the chief cause of the failure was McClellan's hesitancy in deciding whether he should smite the Confederates on their front, or flank them, until it was too late to attempt either.

The veteran General John E. Wool had now been in command at Fortress Monroe for some time. He felt certain that the Confederate soldiers might easily be driven out of Norfolk; and after the affair at Williamsburg he obtained leave to make an effort to dislodge them. Having made a personal reconnoissance, he crossed Hampton Roads and landed a few regiments in the rear of Confederate works below that city. General Huger, in command at Norfolk, had already perceived his peril, with Burnside in his rear and McClellan on his flank, and he retreated. So Wool gained a bloodless victory on the 9th of May. The Confederate vessels in the James River hastened toward Richmond. The Confederates set fire to the battered *Merrimac*, and the troops fled from the city of Norfolk. A flotilla of National gun-boats, commanded by Commodore Rodgers, chased the Confederate vessels as far as Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond, where a strong fort and river obstructions checked the pursuers.

The wisdom of detaching McDowell's corps from the Army of the Potomac was soon made apparent. After the departure of Johnston, with his troops, from Manassas, which relieved Washington from immediate danger, McDowell advanced to Fredericksburg, with thirty thousand men, to assist McClellan or cover the Capital, as he might be ordered. Fremont among the mountains and Banks in the Shenandoah Valley had, in the aggregate, about the same number of troops; and at the beginning of May, Stonewall Jackson had been joined by the skillful General Ewell, near Harrisonburg, in the upper part of the Valley. Ewell was ordered to hold Banks, while General Robert E. Lee, who had been recalled from Georgia, should push across the Rappahannock with a strong column and cut off all communication between Winchester and Alexandria.

While Jackson was watching Banks he was startled by the approach of one of Fremont's brigades under General Milroy, evidently for the purpose of joining the Nationals in the Valley. Jackson immediately

moved against Milroy; and at McDowell, west of Staunton, he struck the brigade a severe blow on the 8th of May. A sharp engagement occurred, lasting about five hours. Neither party won a victory. The Nationals lost in killed and wounded two hundred and fifty-six men, and the Confederates, four hundred and sixty-one. Notwithstanding it was a drawn battle, Jackson sent a note to Ewell the next morning, saying: "Yesterday, God gave us the victory at McDowell."

Meanwhile General Banks had been pressed back by Ewell, to Strasburg; and a fortnight later (May 23d) a National force under Colonel J. R. Kenly, of Baltimore, was captured or dispersed at Front Royal by the combined troops of Jackson and Ewell. Perceiving his peril, Banks fled down the Shenandoah Valley in swift marches, pursued by twenty thousand Confederates, and won the race to Winchester, where he made a stand with seven thousand men, ten Parrott guns, and a battery of 6-pound smooth-bore cannon. There he was attacked by Ewell, on the 25th of May. Contemplating the contingency of a retreat, he had sent his trains toward the Potomac. Very soon Jackson approached with an overwhelming force, when Banks ordered a retreat, after his troops had fought gallantly for several hours. It was done in a masterly manner. They were pursued as far as Martinsburg, where the chase was ended. The Nationals reached the Potomac, at Williamsport, where, on the hill-sides, the wearied troops rested behind a thousand blazing camp-fires that night.

The National capital was now in real danger, and it could only be relieved from peril by the retreat or capture of the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. McDowell sent a force over the Blue Ridge to intercept them if they should retreat, and Fremont pressed on from the west, toward Strasburg, with the same object in view. Perceiving the threatened danger, Jackson fled up the Valley with his whole force, hotly pursued by the Nationals; and at Cross Keys, beyond Harrisonburg, Fremont overtook Ewell, when a sharp but indecisive battle occurred on the 7th of June. Jackson was then at Port Republic, beyond the Shenandoah River, only a few miles distant, so closely pressed by troops under Generals Carroll and Tyler, that he called upon Ewell for help. The latter retired from Cross Keys under cover of night, closely followed by the vigilant Fremont; but Ewell fired the bridge over the Shenandoah near Port Republic, before his pursuer could reach that stream. Jackson, having overwhelming numbers, routed the Nationals after a severe battle at Port Republic, and then the latter retraced their steps toward Winchester. So ended the second great race of contending troops in the Shenandoah Valley.

General McClellan, with the head of his pursuing army, reached the "White House," at the head of navigation of the Pamunkey River, on the 16th of May. The "White House" and surrounding lands belonged to General Robert E. Lee's wife, which she inherited from Mrs. Washington. It was not the "White House" in which the first months of Washington's married life was spent, for that had been burned more than thirty years before. It was a modern dwelling near the spot; but by McClellan's order it was carefully protected from harm, not a sick soldier being allowed to find shelter beneath its roof. From that point, the general pressed forward to Cool Arbor, near the Chickahominy River, where he made his headquarters, within nine miles of Richmond. General Casey's division of General Keyes's corps crossed the river, and occupied heights on the Richmond side of the stream, supported by troops under General Heintzelman. Along the line of the Chickahominy the armies of McClellan and Johnston confronted each other toward the close of May, separated by a narrow stream liable to a sudden overflow of its banks and filling of the adjacent swamps. There the two commanders waited for decisive results in the Shenandoah Valley, each expecting reinforcements from that region.

In the meantime the Confederate government at Richmond, alarmed by the approach of the Nationals by land and water, had prepared to fly into South Carolina. They had actually sent their "archives" to Columbia, and to Lynchburg, in Virginia. The Virginia Legislature, disgusted with the cowardice and perfidy of President Davis and his colleagues, passed resolutions (May 14) calling upon them to defend Richmond at all hazards, and resolved, with a clearness that deprived the trembling government of every excuse but fear, that "the President be assured that whatever destruction or loss of property of the State or individual shall thereby result, will be cheerfully submitted to." It is believed that this act was inspired by General Johnston, who saw with indignation the railroad bridge at Richmond covered with plank, for facilitating the flight of artillery across them, and a train of cars in constant readiness for the flight of Davis and his cabinet.

The first collision between the two armies near the Chickahominy occurred on the 23d and 24th of May, one at New Bridge and the other at and near Mechanicsville, less than eight miles from Richmond. The Confederates were driven beyond the Chickahominy at Mechanicsville, and a large part of the Nationals took possession of the Richmond side of the stream. This bold dash was followed the next morning by a stirring order by McClellan for an immediate advance on Richmond. The loyal people rejoiced. He had said to the Secretary of War, ten days before,

"I will fight the enemy, whatever their force may be, with whatever force we may have." Everything was in readiness for an advance and every circumstance was favorable, for panic had seized the inhabitants in Richmond, and the Confederate troops were not sanguine of a successful defence. But the over-cautious general hesitated until the golden opportunity was lost forever. This chronic hesitancy President Lincoln evidently anticipated, for about the time when McClellan issued his inspiring order, the former, anxious for the safety of the Capital, telegraphed to the general, "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington."

For several days afterward, operations on the flank of the great army made the sum of its action. General Fitz John Porter was sent to Hanover Court-House with a considerable force to keep the way open for McDowell to join the army, which McClellan persistently demanded. Porter had some sharp skirmishes near the Court-House, and cut railway communications with Richmond, all but the important one with Fredericksburg. The general telegraphed to the Secretary of War, that Washington was not in danger, and that it was "the policy and the duty of the Government" to send him "all the well-drilled troops available." When the raids on the Confederate communications had been effected, Porter rejoined the main army lying quietly on the Chickahominy, and McClellan again telegraphed to the Secretary of War, saying: "I will do all that quick movements can accomplish, but you must send me all the troops you can, and leave me full latitude as to choice of commanders."

Three days afterward there were "quick movements" in the *Army of the Potomac*. General Johnston, perceiving McClellan's apparent timidity and the real peril of his army so injudiciously divided by the fickle Chickahominy, marched boldly out from his intrenchments in front of Richmond, to attack the Nationals on the city side of the stream. On the 31st of May he fell with great vigor upon the National advance under General Silas Casey, lying upon each side of the Williamsburg road, half a mile beyond a point known as the Seven Pines, and six miles from Richmond. General Couch's division was at Seven Pines, his right resting at Fair Oaks Station. Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps was near Savage's Station, and Hooker's division of the latter corps was guarding the approaches to the White Oak Swamp. The country around was quite level and mostly wooded, and dotted with marshes.

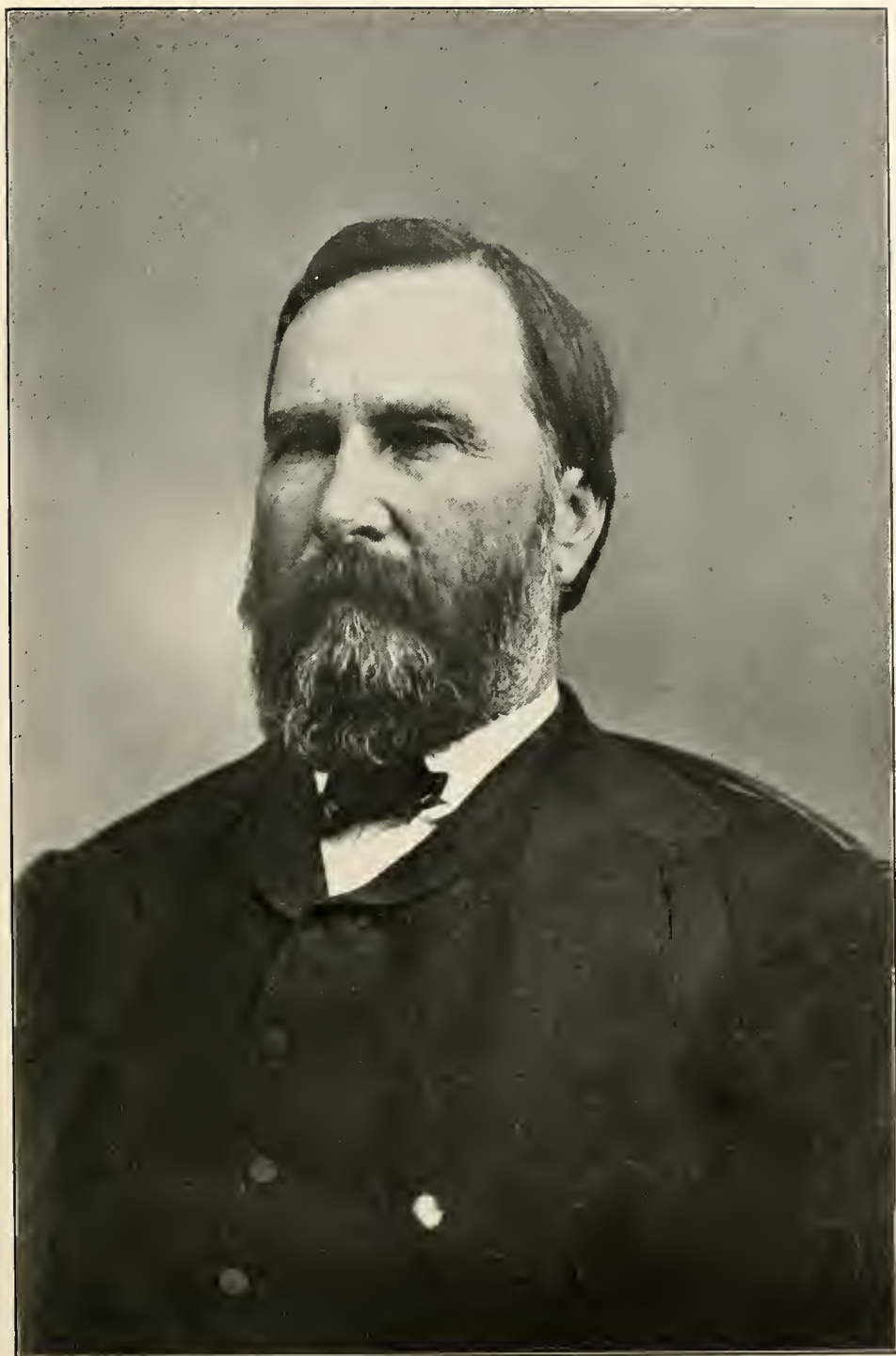
General Longstreet led the Confederate advance, and fell suddenly upon Casey. A most sanguinary battle ensued. Casey fought valiantly until full one-third of his command was disabled, and he was driven back by

overwhelming numbers. Keyes sent troops to aid him, but they could not withstand the pressure, and the whole body was pushed back to Fair Oaks Station on the Richmond and York Railway. Reinforcements sent by Heintzelman and Kearney were met by fresh Confederates, and the victory seemed about to be given to the latter, when General Sumner appeared with the divisions of Generals Sedgwick and Richardson. Sumner



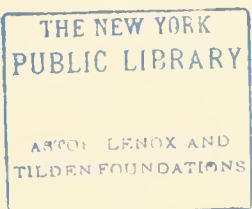
STUART'S RAID.

had seen the peril, and without waiting orders from McClellan, had moved rapidly to the scene of action. He was just in time to check the Confederate advance. The battle still raged furiously. General Johnston was severely wounded and borne from the field; and early in the evening, a bayonet charge by the Nationals broke the Confederate line into confusion. The fighting then ceased for the night, but it was resumed in the morning (June 1, 1862), when General Hooker and his troops took a conspicuous



From a war-time photograph by Brady By permission of the U. S. Government

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JAMES LONGSTREET, C. S. A.



part in the struggle, which lasted several hours. Finally, the Confederates withdrew to Richmond, and the Nationals remained masters of the battlefield of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is sometimes called. The losses were nearly equal on both sides, and amounted to about seven thousand each. In that conflict General O. O. Howard lost his right arm.

The *Army of the Potomac* lay on the borders of the Chickahominy, in a most unhealthy position, for nearly a month after the battle of Fair Oaks, quietly besieging Richmond; and the public expectation was continually fed by the frequent announcement that the decisive battle would be fought "to-morrow." General Robert E. Lee had succeeded the wounded Johnston in the command of the Confederate troops, and had been joined by Generals Jackson and Ewell from the Shenandoah Valley. Thus strengthened, Lee prepared to strike the Nationals a deadly blow. A large body of his cavalry under the dashing leader General J. E. B. Stuart, rode all around McClellan's army. He had fifteen hundred mounted men, and four pieces of horse-artillery. He swept around almost to the "White House;" seized and burned fourteen wagons and two schooners laden with forage, in the Pamunkey, above the "White House;" captured and carried away one hundred and sixty-five prisoners and two hundred and sixty mules and horses; rested three hours, and during the night crossed the Chickahominy and returned to Richmond by the Charles City Road, on the morning of the 15th of June. This raid, the first of similar and more destructive ones by both parties during the war, produced great commotion in the *Army of the Potomac*. In the meantime reinforcements had been called for by McClellan, and sent, yet that commander hesitated to strike.



CHAPTER CXXIV.

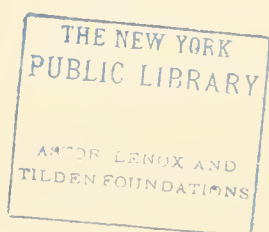
Battles of Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill—Transfer of the Army to the James River—Battles at Savage's Station, White-Oak Swamp and Glendale—Battle at Malvern Hill—The Army at Harrison's Landing—"Army of Virginia"—Battle of Cedar Mountain—Washington in Danger—McClellan and the Government—Flank Movement—Battles at Groveton, Bull's Run and Chantilly—Call for Volunteers—Barbara Frietchie—Battles on South Mountain and Antietam Creek—Burnside Succeeds McClellan—The Army at Fredericksburg and Battle There.

GENERAL LEE put General McClellan on the defensive when, on the 26th of June (1862), he sent "Stonewall Jackson," with a considerable force from Hanover Court-House, to turn the right wing of the National army and fall upon their base of supplies at the "White House." Jackson had been quietly withdrawn from the Shenandoah Valley, and at the proper time made the aggressive movement with much celerity. At the same time a heavier force, under General Longstreet and others, crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and attacked McClellan's right wing commanded by General Fitz John Porter. Near Ellison's Mill, not far from Mechanicsville, a terrific battle was fought that day, in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of between three and four thousand men. The Nationals, advantageously posted, lost about four hundred. This event is known in history as the battle of Mechanicsville.

By this victory, Richmond was placed at the mercy of the National troops; but McClellan, considering his army and stores in peril, immediately prepared to transfer both to the James River. This movement was so secretly and skillfully made, that Lee was not certified of the fact until twenty-four hours after it was actually begun on the morning of the 27th of June. McClellan ordered his stores at the White House to be destroyed if they could not be taken away; and the duty of protecting them in their removal was assigned to the corps of Fitz John Porter. That corps was also charged with the duty of carrying away the siege guns and covering the army in its march for the James River. These troops were accordingly arranged on the rising ground near Gaines's Mill, on the arc of a circle between Cool Arbor and the Chickahominy, where they were attacked in



BARBARA FRITCHE'S DEFIANCE



the afternoon (June 27) by a heavy Confederate force led by Generals Longstreet and Hill. The battle that ensued was very severe. Hard pressed, Porter sent to McClellan, who was on the opposite side of the river, for help; but the latter, believing Magruder's twenty-five thousand men at Richmond to be sixty thousand, sent only Slocum's division of Franklin's corps. Finding that the battle still raged with great fury, and doubtful of the issue, the commander-in-chief then sent the brigades of Richardson and Meagher across the river. They arrived just in time to save Porter's corps from destruction. His shattered column was falling back in disorder, closely pressed, when the shouts of the fresh troops checked the pursuers and so inspirited the fugitives that they rallied and drove the Confederates back to the field they had won. So ended the battle of Gaines's Mill, with a loss to the Nationals of eight thousand men, and to the Confederates, of about five thousand. Porter also lost twenty-two siege guns. During the night succeeding the battle his corps withdrew to the right side of the Chickahominy, destroying the bridges behind them.

Before the dawn of the 28th the National army moved toward Turkey Bend of the James River. General Keyes led the way through White Oak Swamp, followed by Porter's shattered corps. Then came a train of five thousand wagons laden with ammunition, stores and baggage, and a drove of twenty-five hundred head of beef cattle. This movement was so skillfully masked that General Lee, who suspected McClellan was about to give battle on the northern side of the Chickahominy, in defence of his stores at the "White House," or was preparing to retreat down the Peninsula, was completely deceived; and it was late in the night of the 28th (June, 1862) when the astounding fact was announced to him that the *Army of the Potomac* were far on their way toward a new position on the James River. He had then just been informed that a large portion of the stores at the "White House" had been removed, and that the remainder, with the mansion itself, were in flames. To overtake and destroy the retiring army was now Lee's first duty, and he prosecuted the effort with so much vigor, that the Nationals had a desperate struggle to escape.

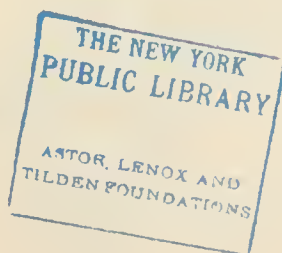
The divisions of Sedgwick, Richardson, Heintzelman and Smith, of Franklin's corps, were at Savage's Station, under the general command of Sumner. These formed McClellan's rear-guard. There they were assailed by a Confederate force under Magruder, whom Lee had sent for the purpose, and who first attacked Sedgwick at about nine o'clock on the 29th. Then a battle of great severity was fought, and it ended only at evening, after darkness had come on. Magruder was repulsed by the brigade of General Burns, supported by those of Brooke and Hancock. The Nationals

fell back to White Oak Swamp covered by French's brigade, leaving twenty-five hundred of them wounded at Savage's Station, who became prisoners to the Confederates. By five o'clock the next morning the entire army had passed the Swamp, and destroyed the bridge behind them that spanned a creek which they had crossed in the passage.

There were severe contests on the morning of the 30th of June, at the main bridge in White Oak Swamp and at Glendale, near by. McClellan's main army had then reached the open country in the region of Malvern Hill. General Franklin had been left with a rear-guard to protect the passage of the bridge and cover the withdrawal of the wagon-trains from that point, and it was with him that the Confederate pursuers had a sharp contest which lasted nearly all day. The latter were kept back; and that night, the Nationals, having destroyed the bridge, withdrew, leaving behind them three hundred of their sick and wounded and some disabled guns. While the strife was going on there, a sanguinary battle was fought at Glendale, not far off, between the Nationals and a column of Confederates led by Longstreet and Hill. In that conflict, Pennsylvania troops, under General McCall, suffered much. That leader was captured, and General Meade was severely wounded. Fresh troops under Hooker, Meagher and Taylor, arrived in time to give the victory at Glendale to the Nationals; and the next day (July 1, 1862) the *Army of the Potomac*, united for the first time since it was divided by the Chickahominy, were in a strong position on Malvern Hill, within the reach of National gun-boats on the James River. But General McClellan thought the position not a safe one, notwithstanding it is a high plateau, with a bold bank sloping toward the river and flanked by deep ravines; and on the morning of the first of July he went down the James River on the gun-boat *Galena* and selected a spot at Harrison's Landing, not far from Malvern Hill, as a secure place for his army and base of supplies.

By vigorous movements, Lee compelled the Nationals to fight while their chief leader was away. The Confederates were concentrated at Glendale, and were moved, in a heavy line under Lee's best generals, to carry Malvern Hill by storm. They fell with intense fury upon the Nationals, and one of the most terrible battles of the war was there fought. The brunt of it was borne by the troops of Porter, Couch and Kearney, until toward evening, when Meagher and Richardson came to their aid with fresh soldiers. The Confederates were sorely smitten by well-directed bombshells from the gun-boats.

This fierce contest continued, with varying fortunes for both parties, until nine o'clock in the evening, when the Confederates were driven to the



GENERAL GRANT AT THE BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS, MAY
5, 1864

From the original painting by H. A. Ogden

“On the following morning General Grant sent to President Lincoln his famous dispatch,
‘I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer’”

Union losses, 5,597 killed, 21,463 wounded, 10,677 missing. Confederate losses, 2,000
killed, 6,000 wounded, 3,400 missing



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shelter of the woods and swamps, utterly broken and dispirited. The victory for the Nationals was so decisive that their leaders expected to pursue Lee's shattered army in the morning, and march into Richmond within twenty-four hours. Their disappointment was grievous when General McClellan, who had been on board the *Galena* nearly all day while the army was fighting, ordered that army to fall back and encamp at Harrison's Landing. The chief officers felt that the prize for which they were contending, namely, the defeat of Lee's army and the capture of Richmond, now within their grasp, was snatched from them by a timid hand, and obedience was reluctantly but promptly given. It seemed to be a fitting ending of a campaign which had been a series of signal failures, with little fruit, excepting the loss since the 23d of May of more than fifteen thousand men. The army lingered long among the malarious vapors of the James River, until many more had fallen victims of disease.

When Halleck succeeded McClellan as chief of the armies, he arranged the troops for the defence of Washington in three corps; and placing them under the command of General John Pope, who had been called from the West, named these forces the *Army of Virginia*. These corps were commanded respectively by Generals McDowell, Banks and Sigel. When McClellan had retreated to Harrison's Landing, the Confederates at Richmond, satisfied that no further attempts to take that city would be made at that time, ordered Lee to make a dash on Washington. Having information of Lee's preparations for a raid to the northward, Halleck ordered Pope, at the middle of July, to meet the invaders at the outset of the raid. National cavalry were first sent by General Rufus King, at Fredericksburg, who made excursions to within thirty or forty miles of the Confederate capital, and destroyed railway tracks and bridges.

At that time "Stonewall Jackson" was at Gordonsville with a heavy force, and Pope's main army was near Culpepper Court-House. The former, by Lee's orders, crossed the Rapid Anné; and at the foot of Cedar Mountain, a few miles west of the Court-House, he was met by General Banks toward the evening of the 9th of August. There occurred one of the most sanguinary battles of the war. Some of the time the struggle was carried on hand-to-hand, under an awful pall of smoke which, after nightfall, obscured the light of the moon. Banks was pressed back by overwhelming numbers, and sorely pressed, until the timely arrival of Rickett's division of McDowell's corps, which checked the pursuers. In this conflict Banks was ably assisted by Generals Crawford, Augur, Geary and others. The battle ceased at nine o'clock in the evening, though cannonading was kept up until midnight. "I have witnessed many battles during the war," wrote a news-

paper correspondent, "but I have seen none where the tenacious obstinacy of the American character was so fully displayed." The National loss was about two thousand men, killed and wounded, and that of the Confederates was about the same.

Jackson held fast to his mountain position until the night of the 11th (August, 1862) when, hearing of the approach of National troops from



DESTROYING RAILWAY TRACKS.

the Rappahannock, he fell back behind the *Rapid Anné*. Pope took position along the line of that stream, where he was reinforced by troops from the Carolinas under Generals Burnside and Stevens. The Confederates were now concentrated for a march on Washington, in heavy columns. Halleck, meanwhile, perceiving possible danger to the capital, had issued a positive order to McClellan, on the 3d of August, for the immediate transfer of the *Army of the Potomac* to the vicinity of Washington. That commander instructed his superior officer that "the true defence of Washington" was "on the banks of the James." The order was

repeated with urgency; but it was twenty days after it was first given before the transfer was accomplished.

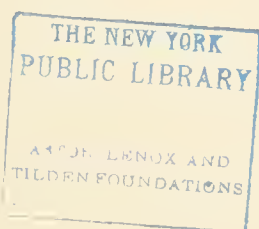
In the meantime there had been stirring events in the direction of the capital. Alarmed at the force which Lee had concentrated on his front, Pope retired behind the forks of the Rappahannock. Lee pushed forward to that river with heavy columns, and on the 20th and 21st of August, a severe artillery duel was fought above Fredericksburg, for seven or eight miles along that stream. Finding that they could not force a passage of the river, the Confederates took a circuitous route toward the mountains to flank the Nationals, when Pope made skillful movements to thwart them. But danger to the National Capital increased every hour. Troops were coming with tardy pace from the Peninsula; and on the 25th, when those of Franklin, Heintzelman and Porter had arrived, Pope's army, somewhat scattered, numbered about sixty thousand men. On that day, Jackson, leading the great flanking force, crossed the Rappahannock. By a swift march he went over the Bull's Run Mountain at Thoroughfare Gap, and at daylight the next morning he was at Manassas Junction on the railway between the *Army of Virginia* and the National Capital. Pope took measures for the capture of Jackson or to prevent his uniting with Longstreet, then coming to support him; but the latter event soon occurred at Groveton, not far from the Bull's Run battle-ground. There, on the 29th of August (1862), the combined Confederates fought the whole of Pope's army excepting Banks's troops. The struggle was severe but indecisive. The loss in the battle at Groveton was about seven thousand men on each side.

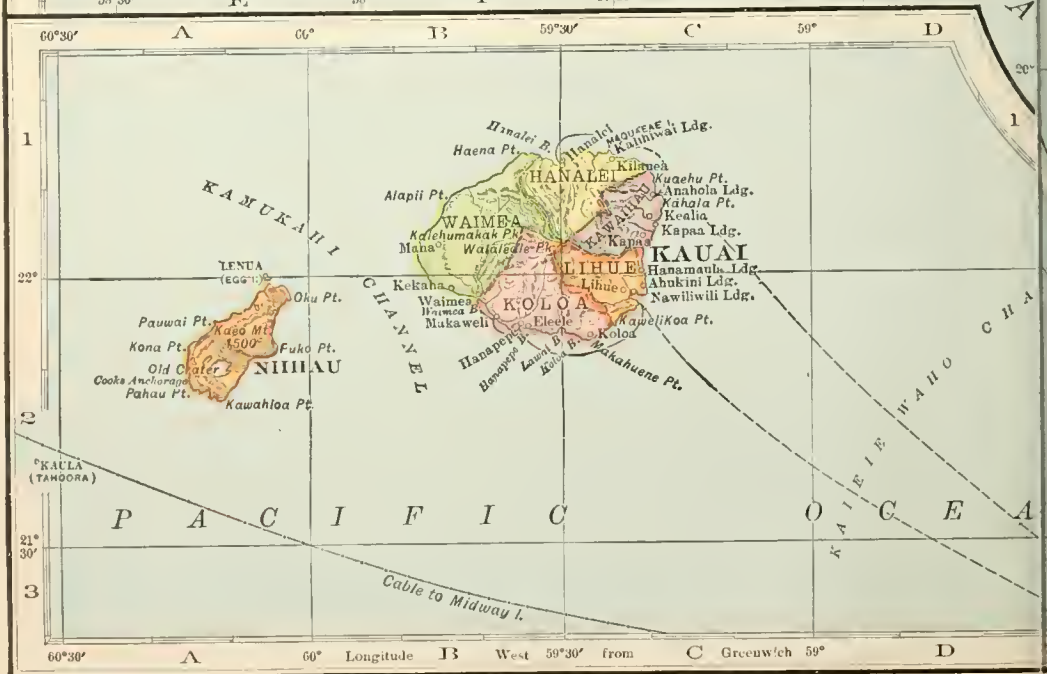
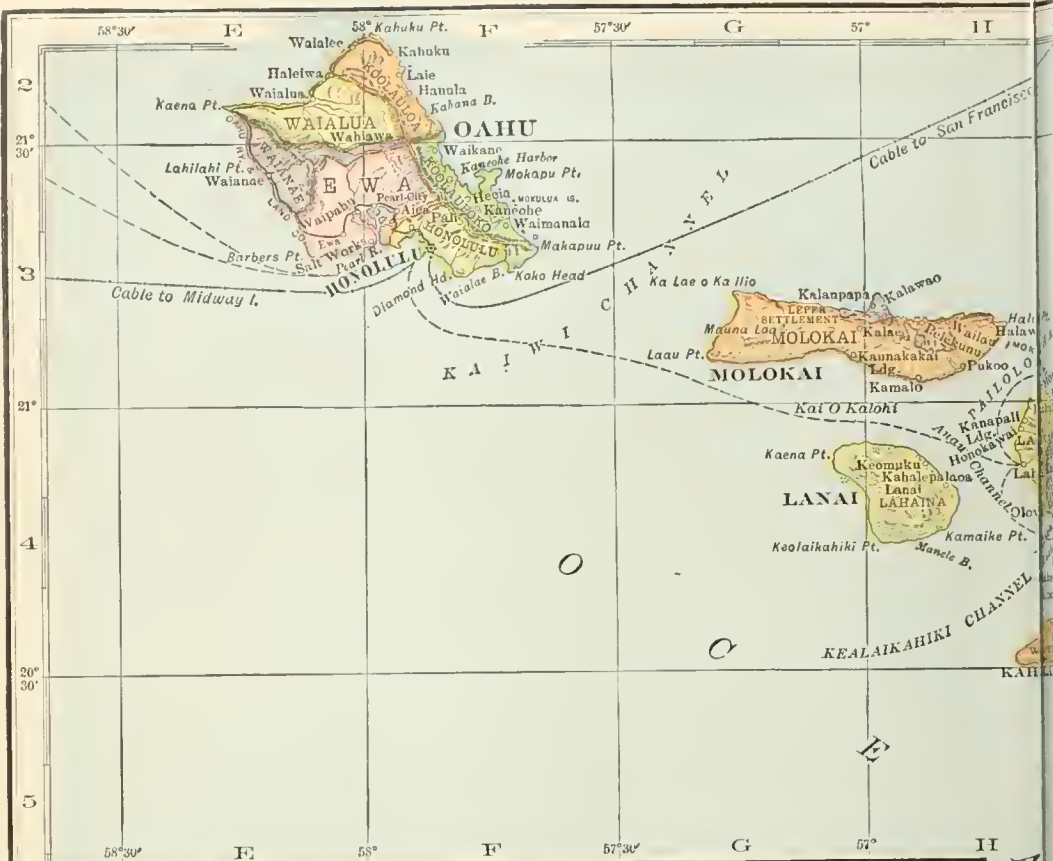
Not doubting that he would be instantly reinforced by McClellan, who was at Alexandria, Pope prepared to renew the conflict the next morning. He confidently expected rations and forage from Alexandria, for McClellan had been ordered to supply them; but on the morning of the 30th, when it was too late to retreat and perilous to stand still, Pope received an astounding note from General Franklin, written by direction of McClellan, that "rations and forage would be loaded into the available wagons and cars" as soon as he (Pope) *should send a cavalry escort for the train!* It was impossible. Assured that he would not receive support from McClellan, Pope was compelled to fight under great disadvantages. Deceived by what appeared to be a retreat of Lee's army, he was drawn into an ambuscade on a part of the former battle-ground of Bull's Run, not far from Groveton, and there a most sanguinary conflict ensued. The Nationals were defeated; and flying across Bull's Run to Centreville, they were there reinforced by the troops of Franklin and Sumner. Pope had labored hard under many difficulties; and he complained bitterly of a lack of co-operation with him,

in his later struggles, by McClellan and some of his subordinates. After the most strenuous efforts of the President and General Halleck to have the *Army of the Potomac* join the *Army of Virginia* in confronting Lee, Pope was joined by only about twenty thousand of the ninety-one thousand who were at Harrison's Landing. McClellan seemed more ready to give advice than to obey orders. "I am not responsible for the past, and cannot be for the future," he wrote to Halleck, "unless I receive authority to dispose of the available troops according to my judgment." And after, by delays, he had thwarted the efforts of the government to get Franklin's corps in a position to give Pope much-needed aid on the 29th, and Halleck had urged him to act promptly in finding out where the enemy was, for he was "tired of guesses," McClellan telegraphed to the President, saying: "I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted. First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope; second, *to leave Pope to get out of his scrape*, and at once use all our means to make the Capital safe."

Lee was afraid to attack the Nationals at Centreville, so he sent Jackson on another flank movement which brought on a battle at Chantilly, north of Fairfax Court-House. It was fought in a cold and drenching rain. For awhile the conflict was very severe, and in it Generals Philip Kearney and Isaac A. Stephens perished. The losses on each side were large. The Nationals, under General Birney, held the field that night, and the next day the broken and demoralized army was sheltered behind the fortifications around Washington city. Pope now repeated, with great earnestness, a request to leave the Army of Virginia and return to the West. His desire was gratified. Then the *Army of Virginia* disappeared as a separate organization and became a part of the *Army of the Potomac*, and McClellan was placed in command of all the troops defending the Capital. The disasters which had befallen the armies of the *Potomac* and of *Virginia* caused a momentary gloom to fall upon the spirits of the loyal people, but it was soon dispelled.

At the request of the governors of many States, the President, on the first of July (1862), called for three hundred thousand volunteers to serve during the war; and in August he called for three hundred thousand more, for three months, with the understanding that an equal number would be drafted from the citizens who were between eighteen and forty-five years of age, if they did not appear among the volunteers. These calls were cheerfully responded to; and the Confederate government, alarmed, ordered General Lee to make a desperate effort to capture Washington city before the new army should be brought into the field. Lee was immediately







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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

reinforced. Perceiving the folly of making a direct attack upon the well-fortified National Capital, he crossed the Potomac above that city (near the Point of Rocks) into Maryland to assail Baltimore, and if successful, to fall upon Washington in the rear. He made the passage with almost his entire army, and on the 7th of September was encamped at Frederick, on the Monocacy. There, on the 8th, he issued a stirring appeal, in the form of a proclamation, to the people of Maryland, and raised the standard of revolt. He did not doubt that thousands would resort to it; on the contrary, he lost more men by desertion than he gained by recruiting there.

When General McClellan heard of Lee's invasion of Maryland, he left General Banks, with some troops, to defend Washington, and crossing the Potomac above the National Capital, with about ninety thousand men, he advanced cautiously toward Frederick, which Lee evacuated at their approach. There McClellan discovered Lee's plan for seizing Washington. It was to take possession of Harper's Ferry and open communication with Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley, and then marching toward Pennsylvania, entice McClellan far in that direction. At a proper moment Lee was to turn suddenly, smite and defeat his antagonist, and then march upon Washington.

It is related that when the head of Lee's army led by "Stonewall Jackson" entered Frederick, Barbara Frietchie, a very old woman, in defiance of an order for hauling down every Union flag, kept one flying from the dormer window of her house near the bridge over the Monocacy Creek, in the town. Seeing it, Jackson ordered his riflemen to shoot away the staff. When it fell the patriotic Barbara snatched it up, and leaning, says Whittier,

"Far out on the window sill,
She shook it forth with a royal will;
'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag,' she said.
A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came:
The nobler nature within him stirr'd
To life at that woman's deed and word;
'Who touches a hair of yon gray head,
Dies like a dog! March on!' he said.
All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet.
All day long that free flag tost
Over the head of the rebel host."

The Nationals followed the Confederates from Frederick, in two columns, over the South Mountain into the beautiful valley of the Antietam

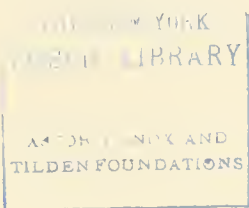
Creek. The right and centre of the Nationals moved by the way of Turner's Gap, Burnside leading the advance; and the left, composed of Franklin's corps, by way of Crampton's Gap, on the same range, nearer Harper's Ferry. At Turner's Gap, Burnside fought a desperate battle on the 14th of September; and at the same time Franklin was trying to force his way at Crampton's Gap, to get between General Lee and Harper's Ferry, where Colonel Miles, a Marylander, was in command of National troops. The strife at Turner's Gap ceased at dark, with a loss to the Nationals of about fifteen hundred men, of whom a little more than three hundred were killed. Among the latter was the gallant General Reno. The Nationals intended to renew the battle in the morning; but the Confederates withdrew under cover of the night, and Lee concentrated his forces on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg. Franklin, in the meantime, had fought his way over the Mountain into Pleasant Valley; and on the evening of the 14th (September) was within six miles of Harper's Ferry, which was then invested by a strong force under "Stonewall Jackson." The Confederates held the advantageous positions of Maryland and Loudon Heights on each side of the Potomac, which commanded the post at Harper's Ferry, and the latter could be preserved from capture only by help from outside. This Franklin was about to give; but before he could do so, Miles surrendered the post to Jackson, after sending away his cavalry. This unfortunate and unnecessary movement, deprived the Nationals of a vast advantage which they might have gained by the apparently easy possession of Harper's Ferry, at that time. Miles's conduct was such, that his loyalty to the Republic was justly suspected.

On the 16th of September, the Confederate army was well posted on the heights near Sharpsburg, on the western side of the Antietam Creek. The Confederates had been followed from South Mountain cautiously, for McClellan professed to believe them to be in overwhelming numbers on his front. But Lee's army then numbered only sixty thousand, while McClellan's effective force was eighty-seven thousand. The latter hesitated to attack; and when he was put upon the defensive by a sharp artillery assault by Confederate cannon, the crisis had passed before he was ready to respond. Then the brave and energetic Hooker was permitted to cross the Antietam with a part of his corps, commanded by Generals Ricketts, Meade, and Doubleday. This passage was made on the extreme right of the Confederates, where he had a sharp and successful combat with the foe led by General Hood. Hooker's men lay upon their arms that night. Other National troops passed over under cover of the darkness. These were the divisions of Williams and Greene, of Mansfield's corps, who bivouacked a mile in Hooker's rear.



BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS, JUNE 1, 1862

From a wartime sketch



The best of McClellan's generals expecting a heavy engagement in the morning, awaited these movements with great anxiety. In this feeling the army of Lee concurred. At dawn on the morning of the 17th (September, 1862), Hooker opened the battle by assailing the Confederate left with about eighteen thousand men. The enemy were led by Jackson. Hooker had



GENERAL MCCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM.

Doubleday on his right, Meade on his left, and Ricketts in the centre. With varying fortunes the contest raged on that wing of the army and along the centre until late in the afternoon. The National chief, with a lofty faith that all would be well, did not leave his room at Pry's (his headquarters) that morning until eight o'clock, when the hills had been echoing the cannon-thunder for hours. Then he went out and viewed the progress of the battle from the opposite side of the Antietam, where he held Porter's

corps, with artillery, and Pleasonton's cavalry in reserve until toward evening, when he sent some troops to assist the fighters.

Meanwhile General Burnside, with the left wing of the Nationals, had been holding in check, and fighting the Confederate right under Longstreet, since eight o'clock in the morning, with varying success; and he was on the point of gaining a victory there, when the Confederates were reinforced by General A. P. Hill's division, which had hurried up from Harper's Ferry to the support of Lee. Darkness ended the struggle, which had lasted from twelve to fourteen hours. Both armies were severely smitten. The Nationals lost twelve thousand four hundred and seventy men, and McClellan estimated the Confederate loss to have been much greater. The advantage was decidedly with the Nationals that night. Lee's army, shattered and disorganized, and his supplies nearly exhausted, was without reinforcements near; while McClellan's was joined the next morning by fourteen thousand fresh troops. A vigorous movement on his part, that morning, might have put the whole Confederate force into McClellan's hands as prisoners of war; but with chronic hesitation and indecision, he refused to allow his army to pursue the retreating foe until thirty-six hours after the battle. His reasons for his dilatoriness were given in an apologetic tone, in his report, as follows: "Virginia was lost, Washington was menaced, Maryland invaded—the National cause could afford no risks of defeat."

When, on the morning of the 19th of September, McClellan advanced, Lee had fled, under cover of the night, and was with his shattered army behind strong batteries on the Virginia side of the Potomac. A feeble pursuit was attempted and abandoned. Two brigades crossed the river, and were surprised and driven back into Maryland, when Lee, counting upon McClellan's habitual slowness, moved leisurely up the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan took possession of abandoned Harper's Ferry, and called for reinforcements and supplies to enable him to pursue the fugitives; and ten days afterward, when the news was hourly expected that the *Army of the Potomac* were in swift pursuit of Lee's shattered columns, the commander of the National army proclaimed that he intended to hold his troops where they were, and "attack the enemy should he attempt to cross into Maryland." The President, astounded by this declaration, hastened to McClellan's headquarters, in person, to ascertain the true state of the case. He was so well satisfied that the army was capable of a successful pursuit at once, that he ordered McClellan (October 6, 1862) to cross the Potomac immediately for that purpose. Twenty precious days were afterward spent in correspondence between the disobedient general and his patient superiors, before the former obeyed, during which time Lee's army was thoroughly

recruited in every way, and his communications with Richmond were well established.

The beautiful month of October passed away. The roads in Virginia were never in a finer condition; and the loyal people were becoming exceedingly impatient, when, on the 2d of November, McClellan announced that his great army was once more on the soil of Virginia, prepared to move southward on the east side of the Blue Ridge instead of up the Shenandoah Valley, as he had been ordered to do. The patience of the Government and its friends was now exhausted. They had lost faith in McClellan's ability or disposition to achieve a decisive victory over the Confederates, and on the 5th of November he was superseded in the command of the *Army of the Potomac* by General Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island. So ended General McClellan's unsuccessful military career. He then entered the field of politics in opposition to the administration, and was equally unsuccessful there.

The *Army of the Potomac* was now about one hundred and twenty thousand in number. It was reorganized by Burnside; and he took measures for the early seizure of the Confederate capital rather than for the capture or destruction of the Confederate army. He made Aquia Creek, on the Potomac, his base of supplies; and he hastened to place his army at or near Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, from which he might march on Richmond. Lee, in the meantime, had gathered about eighty thousand men on the Heights in the rear of Fredericksburg, with three hundred cannon, and had destroyed all the bridges that spanned the Rappahannock in that vicinity.

It was the second week in December when the opposing great armies in Virginia were lying in parallel lines within cannon-shot of each other, with a narrow river between them. Sixty thousand National troops, under Generals Sumner and Hooker, lay in front of Fredericksburg, with one hundred and fifty cannon on Stafford Heights under the chief direction of General Hunt; and the corps of Franklin, about forty thousand strong, was encamped about two miles below. The troops could cross the river only on pontoons or floating bridges; and on the 11th of December, early in the morning, the engineers went quietly at work to construct five of them. These men were assailed and driven away by sharp-shooters concealed in buildings on the opposite shore. The batteries on Stafford Heights then opened a heavy fire on the town to drive out the enemy, and the city was set on fire, in many places, by the shells; but the sharp-shooters remained. Then a party of volunteers went across the river in open boats, in the face of flying bullets from Mississippi rifles, to dislodge the sharp-shooters. A

drummer-boy from Michigan, named Hendershot, begged leave to go along, but was refused permission. Then he asked and obtained permission to push off one of the boats, when he allowed himself to be dragged into the water. Clinging to the vessel, he was conveyed to the opposite shore. Several men in the boat were killed; and when the boy was climbing the

bank, his drum was torn in pieces by a flying fragment of an exploded shell. Then he seized the musket of a slain companion, and fought gallantly until the sharpshooters were driven away or captured. The bridges were finished, and by the evening of the 12th a greater portion of the National army occupied Fredericksburg.

On the morning of the 13th the National army made a simultaneous assault all along the National line, where a most sanguinary battle occurred, which ended with a repulse of Burnside's forces with a loss of almost fourteen thousand men. In this struggle, Generals Franklin, Couch, Hooker, Sumner, Meade, Doubleday, Howard, Humphrey, Wilcox, Hancock, French, Sturgis, Getty, Meagher and others were conspicuous. In the fight, the Confederates lost about half as many as the number lost by



THE MICHIGAN DRUMMER-BOY.

the Nationals. Burnside, anxious to gain a victory, was disposed to renew the battle the next day, but was dissuaded by some of his best officers, and his troops remained on the city side of the river until the night of the 15th unmolested by the Confederates. Then, under cover of darkness, they crossed the stream with all their cannon, taking up the pontoons behind them.

This failure produced some dissatisfaction, and Burnside was soon afterward superseded in the command of the *Army of the Potomac* by General

Joseph Hooker. It was the misfortune, not the fault of the gallant Burnside, that he did not succeed at Fredericksburg. The *Army of the Potomac* now went into winter-quarters on the borders of the Rappahannock.

Hooker's first care was to prevent desertion, secure the return of absentees on furlough, and to weed noxious materials out of the army. Disloyal officers were dismissed as soon as they were discovered; and the evils of idleness were prevented by keeping the soldiers employed. The express trains in the service of the Government were regularly searched, and all property belonging to private citizens was confiscated or destroyed. The army was comfortably hutted; and important changes were made in its organization and its staff department. The cavalry, hitherto scattered among the grand divisions and without organization, as a corps, were consolidated, and were soon placed in a condition of greater efficiency than had ever before been known in the service; and to improve them, they were sent out upon raids within the Confederate lines whenever the condition of the roads would permit. The region between Bull's Run and the Rapid Anné became the theatre of many daring exploits by the horsemen of both armies.



CHAPTER CXXV.

National Rule in the Southwest—Guerrillas—Invasion of Kentucky—Cincinnati Saved—Battle at Mumfordsville and Perryville—Army of the Cumberland—Battle at Iuka Springs—General Ord's Movements—Battle at Corinth and Operations near—Capture of Baton Rouge—Destruction of the "Arkansas"—Operations in Arkansas and Louisiana—Battle at Murfreesboro—Emancipation Proclamation—The Confederate Government—Davis President—Doings of the Confederate Congress—British Sympathy with the Confederates—The "Alabama"—Operations against Vicksburg—Operations on the Mississippi—Battles at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and Big Black River—Vicksburg Invested.

THE Lower Mississippi, from its mouth to New Orleans, was in the possession of the National military and naval forces under General Butler and Commodore Farragut, at the beginning of the summer of 1862. So, also, was the same river, from Memphis to St. Louis, controlled by the Government troops and vessels; while the National forces held sway over southern Tennessee, and northern Alabama and Mississippi.

Although the great armies of the Confederates had been driven from Kentucky and Tennessee, the absence of any considerable Union force excepting on the southern border of the latter State, permitted a most distressing guerrilla warfare to be carried on within the borders of those commonwealths by mounted bands, who, with gallant leaders, hovered upon the rear and flanks of the National forces, or roamed at will over the whole country, plundering the Union inhabitants. One of their leaders was John Morgan, a bold Alabamian, at the head of dashing mounted men, who appeared in Kentucky, and raiding through that State prepared the way for the advance of an invading army from Chattanooga, led by General Braxton Bragg. Another mounted force, led by N. B. Forrest, was sweeping over a portion of Tennessee for the same purpose at the same time; and at the middle of July he threatened the Union post at Nashville, then in command of General Negley. In the meantime, General Bragg was pushing toward Kentucky by a route eastward of Nashville, while General Buell was moving in the same direction, on a parallel line, to foil the invaders.

General E. Kirby Smith, a native of Connecticut, leading the van of Bragg's army, entered Kentucky from East Tennessee, and pushed on

rapidly to Lexington, fighting and defeating a National force, on the 30th of August, under General M. D. Manson, near Richmond in that State. The Secessionists of Kentucky warmly welcomed the invaders, and swelled their ranks at every step. The alarmed Legislature of Kentucky, sitting at Frankfort, fled to Louisville, while Smith pressed vigorously on in the direction of the Ohio River, with the intention of capturing and plundering Cincinnati. He was unexpectedly confronted on the southern side of the Ohio by strong fortifications and a considerable National force under the energetic General Lewis Wallace, who had proclaimed martial-law in Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, and in a stirring proclamation, demanded the instant co-operation of the people. "Citizens for the labor—soldiers for the battle," was the principle announced. The response was wonderful. In the course of a few hours he had at his command an army of workers and fighters forty thousand strong. The invader recoiled; and falling back to the Kentucky State capital (Frankfort), seized it, and there awaited the arrival of Bragg, who crossed the Cumberland River and entered Kentucky on the 5th of September, with forty regiments and forty cannon.

Bragg's advance, eight thousand strong, under General J. R. Chalmers, encountered a National force under Colonel T. J. Wilder, at Mumfordsville, on the 14th of September. It was on the line of the Nashville and Louisville Railway. A battle began at dawn and lasted about five hours, when the Confederates were repulsed; but two days afterward a stronger force under General (Bishop) Polk fell upon Wilder, and after a severe struggle he was compelled to yield to vastly superior numbers. Bragg was elated by this success, and joining Smith, at Frankfort, he prepared to make a supposed easy march to Louisville, his destination. His army then numbered about sixty-five thousand effective men, and the movements of Buell seemed too tardy to promise serious impediments. Bragg was mistaken. Buell, who had kept abreast of Bragg, suddenly turned upon him with about sixty thousand men, and near the little town of Perryville, in Boyle county, they had a fierce combat on the 8th of October. In that battle the Nationals lost about four thousand three hundred and fifty men; but the invaders were so roughly handled that they fled in haste, that night, toward East Tennessee, followed by their marauding bands, who had plundered the inhabitants in every direction. They started in their retreat with a wagon-train of stolen property, forty miles in length, but were compelled to leave a large portion of it behind. The whole expedition seems to have had no higher aims than that of a plundering raid. It proved disastrous to Bragg's army, and would have caused its total ruin if that army had been vigorously pursued. Soon afterward, General Rosecrans, who had won substantial

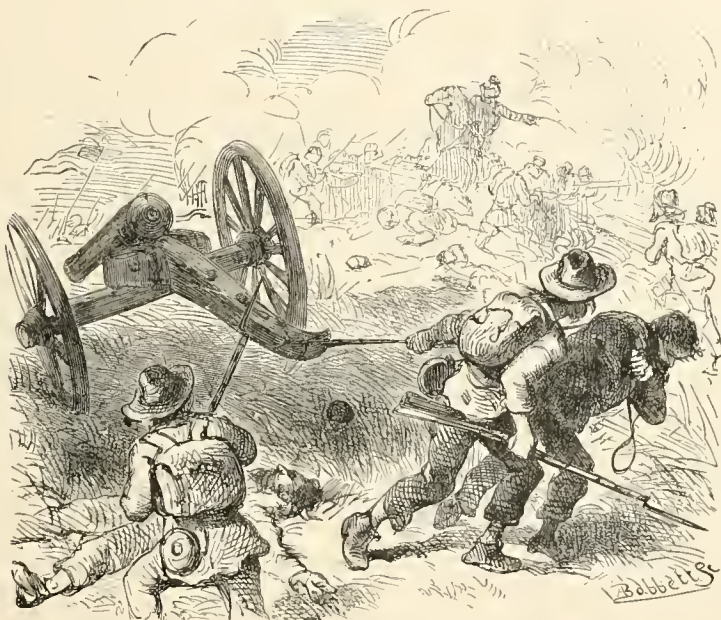
victories in northern Mississippi, succeeded Buell in the command of the *Army of the Ohio*, and its name was changed to that of the *Army of the Cumberland*.

While General Bragg was plundering the Kentuckians, bands of Confederates were raiding through western Tennessee to draw attention from the invaders; and the army in northern Mississippi, now led by General Beauregard, had advanced toward Tennessee under Generals Van Dorn and Price. General Rosecrans was then in command of the *Army of the Mississippi*, charged with the duty of holding the region lately repossessed by the Nationals in consequence of the evacuation of Corinth and the valor of Mitchel.

Rosecrans was at Tuscumbia when General Grant informed him that danger was gathering westward of him; and when he moved toward Corinth, Price advanced toward Iuka Springs, a summer watering-place in northern Mississippi, to meet him. Near the village of that name, Rosecrans and Price met on the 19th of September, and fought a most severe battle. The disparity in numbers was very great. Price had full eleven thousand men, while Rosecrans did not have more than three thousand men actually engaged in the struggle. During the battle, which was extremely fierce, there was a desperate contest for the possession of an Indiana battery which the Confederates had seized after all the horses belonging to it, and seventy-two of its artillerymen, were killed. It was fought for hand-to-hand. Charges and counter-charges were made; until, at length, the Confederate soldiers dragged the cannon off the field, with ropes. But the Confederates were so badly beaten in the battle, that they fled southward in great haste and confusion. The National loss was nearly eight hundred; that of the Confederates over fourteen hundred. Meanwhile General Ord, whom Grant had sent to aid Rosecrans, had been watching the movements of a body of the Confederates who were making feints against Corinth. He had, according to orders, marched within four miles of Iuka; instructed to wait there until he should hear Rosecrans's great guns. A high wind from the north prevented their sounds reaching him. Ord lay there until the next morning, when he pushed on toward Iuka and found Rosecrans a victor and his foe departed. Then Ord retired to Bolivar, between Corinth and Memphis, while Rosecrans concentrated his troops at Corinth and prepared to meet an impending attack by the combined forces of Van Dorn and Price. These, about forty thousand in number, were united at Ripley, and at the close of September they moved on Corinth. At that place the opposing armies battled fiercely on the 3d and 4th of October, when the result was the repulse of the Confederates, the pursuit of them to Ripley, and a loss

on the part of the Nationals of more than twenty-three hundred men. The Confederates lost about nine thousand men, including prisoners. On their retreat a part of Van Dorn's troops fought the forces of Ord at the Hatchee River, where the latter was severely wounded. For awhile after this event there was comparative repose in General Grant's department.

The only obstructions to the free navigation of the Mississippi River, in the spring of 1862, were at Vicksburg and at Port Hudson below. Vicksburg, a city of Mississippi, situated on a group of high eminences known as



STRUGGLE FOR AN INDIANA BATTERY

the Walnut Hills, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River, at a bold turn in the stream, was a point of great military importance, for it had been fortified by the Confederates and was daily growing stronger. It promised to become impregnable for those who were opposing the grand scheme of the National Government for gaining the absolute control of that great stream, and thus securing important portions of the Confederacy. Toward the seizure of that point, operations in the southwest were soon tending. To remove these obstructions, Farragut, in command of National vessels, bent his energies. So early as the 7th of May (1862), Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, had been captured by the National forces by land and

water, when Farragut went up the river to Vicksburg and there held communication with the commanders of gunboats above. Finally, he attacked the batteries there (June 26); and he also attempted to cut a canal across a peninsula in front of Vicksburg, so as to avoid the Confederate guns at the city altogether; but he failed in his undertakings, and descended the river with his vessels. This movement was followed, early in August, by an attack upon Baton Rouge, by a Confederate force led by General J. C. Breckenridge. The post was then in command of General Thomas Williams. There was a desperate struggle for about two hours, in which the Twenty-first Indiana Regiment was conspicuous. It lost all of its field-officers before the end of the action. Seeing this, General Williams placed himself at its head, exclaiming, "Boys, your field-officers are all gone; I will lead you!" They gave him three hearty cheers, when a bullet passed through his breast and he fell dead. He had just issued orders for the line to fall back, which it did, in good order, with Colonel Cahill of the Ninth Connecticut in chief command. The Confederates, dreadfully smitten, also fell back, and then retreated.

The insurgents had constructed a formidable "ram," which they named *Arkansas*. With it they expected to sweep every National vessel from the Mississippi, and "drive the Yankees from New Orleans." It did not arrive at Baton Rouge in time to engage in the attack upon the National forces there; but on the morning after the battle, Commodore Porter, with the gunboat *Essex*, accompanied by the *Cayuga* and *Sumter*, went up the river to meet her. They found her five miles above Baton Rouge. After a short and sharp fight, she became unmanageable, and was headed toward the river bank and set on fire. Just as she touched the shore her magazine exploded, and the monster was blown into fragments.

During the summer and autumn of 1862, there were some stirring events in Missouri and Arkansas. After the battle at Pea Ridge, Curtis marched eastward, with his army, to assist in military operations on the borders of the Mississippi River; but he remained some time at Helena, menacing Little Rock and smiting guerrilla bands that roamed that State. Missouri was equally infested with guerrillas; and in June (1862) that Commonwealth was erected into a separate military district, with General J. M. Schofield at its head. He was vigilant and active; and with a force thirty thousand strong, scattered over the State in six divisions, he soon subdued, in a great degree, the numerous roaming bands that overran it. From April until September, about one hundred battles and skirmishes were fought in that State. Schofield drove out troops that came over the southern border to help the Missourians in arms, and these fugitives formed the nucleus of a

force, about forty thousand strong, which gathered in Arkansas under General T. C. Hindman, formerly a member of Congress.

Leaving Curtis in command of the Missouri district, Schofield marched against Hindman, with eight thousand troops under General J. G. Blunt, in southern Missouri. With these he sought the shy Confederates in the vicinity of the Ozark Mountains. Blunt attacked a portion of them at Fort Wayne, near Maysville, on the 22d of October, and drove them into the Indian country. A week later a cavalry force, under General F. T. Herron, struck another portion on the White River, eight miles from Fayetteville, and drove them into the mountains. Soon after this, ill health compelled Schofield to leave the field, when the command devolved upon General Blunt.

Hindman now determined to strike a decisive blow for the recovery of his State from National control. Late in November he had gathered about twenty thousand men on the western borders of Arkansas. He moved against Blunt, and on the 28th his advance, composed of Marmaduke's cavalry, was attacked and defeated by Blunt, on Boston Mountains. The latter then took position at Cane Hill, when Hindman, with eleven thousand men, prepared to crush him. Blunt sent for General Herron, then just over the border, in Missouri, to come and help him. Herron soon promptly complied, and the combined forces fought and defeated Hindman at a little settlement called Prairie Grove. The Confederates were driven in confusion over the mountains.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events nearer the Gulf of Mexico, west of the Mississippi. Texas was then under Confederate rule. So early as May, 1862, Commander Eagle, with a small squadron of National vessels, appeared before Galveston, and demanded its surrender. There was a prompt refusal to comply; and so the matter remained until October following, when the civil authorities of that city surrendered it to Commodore Renshaw of the National navy. At the same time General Butler sent aggressive expeditions into the interior of Louisiana. The most important of them was led by General Godfrey Weitzel, who went with a strong force to "repossess" the rich La Fourche parish. This was accomplished, after a severe engagement at Labadieville, on the 27th of October. Very soon afterward the eastern portions of Louisiana, along the borders of the Mississippi, were brought under National control. On the 10th of December following, General Butler was succeeded in the command of the Department of the Gulf by General N. P. Banks.

The year 1862 was now drawing to a close. General Grant had concentrated the bulk of his army at Holly Springs, in Mississippi, where he was

confronted by Van Dorn; at about the same time, General Rosecrans, with a greater part of the *Army of the Cumberland*, was moving southward to attack Bragg at Murfreesboro', below Nashville. Rosecrans was assisted by Generals Thomas, McCook, Crittenden, Rousseau, Palmer, Sheridan, J. C. Davis, Wood, Van Cleve, Hazen, Negley, Mathews and others; and Bragg had, as his lieutenants, Generals Polk, Breckenridge, Hardee, Kirby Smith, Cheatham, Withers, Cleburne, and Wharton.

On the 30th of December, the two armies lay within cannon-shot of each other on opposite sides of Stone River, near Murfreesboro'. On the following morning a sanguinary battle was begun, and continued until evening, with varied success and fearful losses. Rosecrans had gallantly conducted the fight in person, and he and Bragg prepared to renew the contest on the following morning, the first of January, 1863. That day was spent in heavy skirmishing; but on the morning of the 2d a terrific struggle was begun. The batteries on both sides were massed, and they were worked with destructive energy. The dead and wounded strewn the ground over scores of acres, for the carnage was dreadful; and, at one time, it seemed as if the total destruction of both armies would be the result. At length seven National regiments made a simultaneous charge, by which the Confederate line was broken into fragments and scattered in confusion. These regiments were the Nineteenth Illinois; Eighteenth, Twenty-first, and Seventy-fourth Ohio; Seventy-eighth Pennsylvania; Eleventh Michigan, and Thirty-seventh Indiana. Victory remained with Rosecrans, and Bragg retreated southward to Tullahoma, while his antagonist occupied the battle-field and Murfreesboro'. The National loss in the battle of Stone River was twelve thousand men, and that of the Confederates ten thousand. The relative position of the two armies immediately after the battle, remained so for several months afterward.

The war had now been going on for almost two years. It had been begun by the politicians of the slave-labor States for the purpose of perpetuating the slave-system, which gave to the Confederate cause the chief sinews of its strength. It nurtured a producing class that fed, by its labor, the armies arrayed against the life of the Republic; and only a very small proportion of that class were drawn from the pursuits of agriculture to the camps. Perceiving this, the President of the United States and the loyal people resolved to destroy the system by some method of abolition. The kind-hearted Lincoln proposed to give pecuniary aid to any State government which might provide for the abolition of slavery; but the interested friends of that system everywhere refused to listen. Congress proceeded to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, over which that

body had direct control; and, finally, they gave the President discretionary powers to declare the emancipation of the slaves in States wherein insurrection existed. Finally, late in September (1862), President Lincoln issued a proclamation, in which he gave public notice that it was his purpose to declare such emancipation on the first of January, 1863, to take effect immediately wherever a state of insurrection might then exist, unless the offenders should lay down their arms.

This friendly warning—this forbearance to strike the blow that was to remove the manacles from millions of bondsmen—was treated by the masters of the slaves with scorn. It was sneered at by them, as an act of sheer impuissance. It was compared to “the Pope’s Bull against the comet;” and, because of this menace, resistance to the Government was more rampant than ever. It was evident that the warning would be ineffectual. The President prepared a proclamation of emancipation. It was submitted to his cabinet and approved; and on the first of January, 1863, it was promulgated with the whole force of the Republic—its army, its navy, and its judiciary; its Executive and Legislative powers—back of it to enforce its provisions. The moral force of that proclamation was tremendous. By that act the shackles were taken from the personal freedom of over three million slaves. From the hour of the promulgation of the proclamation of emancipation, the power of the enemies of the Government began to wane, and the star of their own future prosperity arose with beams of promise.

Early in 1862, the Confederate government was changed from a “provisional” to a “permanent one.” The “provisional congress,” made up of delegates chosen by conventions of politicians and legislatures of States, had been in continuous session from the 18th of November, 1861, until the 18th of February, 1862, when its term expired by limitation. On the same day a congress, professedly elected by the people, commenced its session under the “permanent constitution of the Confederate States.” I say “professedly elected by the people.” The following was the method pursued in Virginia, as presented in an editorial article in a leading Richmond journal, in carrying on a *popular* election:

“It being necessary to form a ticket of electors, and the time being too short to call a convention of the people, it was suggested that the Richmond editors should prepare a ticket, thus *relieving the people of the trouble of making selections*. The ticket thus formed has been presented.” Here several of the nominees were named. “Every district in the State,” said the journal, “is embraced in this editorial report.”

In the permanent Confederate congress, all of the slave-labor States

were represented, excepting Maryland and Delaware. The oath to support the constitution of the Confederate States was administered to the senators by R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, and to the representatives, by Howell Cobb of Georgia. Thomas Bocock, of Virginia, was elected Speaker of the House. On the following day (February 19) the votes for president of the Confederacy were counted, and were found to be one hundred and nine in



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

number, all of which were cast for Jefferson Davis. Three days afterward Davis was inaugurated president for six years. He chose for his cabinet Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, secretary of state; George W. Randolph of Virginia, secretary of war; S. R. Mallory of Florida, secretary of the navy; Charles G. Memminger of South Carolina, secretary of the treasury, and Thomas H. Watts of Alabama, attorney-general. Randolph resigned, and James A. Seddon, a wealthy citizen of Richmond, who was conspicuous in the famous "Peace Convention" at Washington, was chosen to fill his place.

Measures were adopted by the Confederate Congress to prosecute the war against the Union

with vigor. It was declared, by joint resolution, that it was the unalterable determination of the people of the Confederate States "to suffer all the calamities of the most protracted war;" and that they would never, "on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who were guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens." With this spirit they prosecuted the war on land; and with the aid of the British aristocracy, ship-builders and merchants, and the tacit consent of the British government, they were enabled to keep afloat, on the ocean, some active vessels for plundering American commerce. The hoped-for and expected result was the driving of the carrying-trade between the United States and Europe into British bottoms, and so enriching the British shipping-merchants. This was the end to be accomplished, and it was effected.

The most formidable of these Anglo-Confederate plunderers of the sea was the *Alabama*, which was built, armed, manned and victualled in England. She sailed under the British flag, and was received with favor in every British port that she entered. In the last three months of the year 1862, she destroyed by fire twenty-eight helpless American merchant-vessels. While these incendiary fires, kindled by Englishmen in a ship fitted out as a sea-rover by Englishmen commanded by a Confederate leader, were illuminating the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean, a merchant-ship (the *George Griswold*), laden with provisions as a gift for starving English operatives in Lancashire, who had been deprived of work and food by the Civil War in America, and whose necessities their own government failed to relieve, was sent from the city of New York, *convoyed by a national war-vessel to save her from the fury of the British sea-rover!* The sequel of the *Alabama* story will be told hereafter.

At the beginning of 1863, the National Government had more than seven hundred thousand soldiers in its service; and up to that time the loyal people had furnished twelve hundred thousand troops, mostly volunteers, for the salvation of the life of the Republic. The theatre of war had become co-extensive with the slave-labor States; and at that time the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, on the Mississippi River, was a chief object of the Government. Only between these places was that river free from the patrol of National gun-boats; and it was desirable to break this connection between the insurgents on each side of the stream. To this end General Grant concentrated his forces near the Tallahatchee River, in northern Mississippi, where Generals Hovey and Washburne had been operating with troops whom they had led from Helena, in Arkansas. Grant had a large quantity of supplies at Holly Springs. These, through carelessness or treachery, fell into the hands of Van Dorn on the 20th of December (1862), and Grant was compelled to fall back to Grand Junction to save his army. Taking advantage of this movement, a large force of Confederates gathered at Vicksburg under General J. C. Pemberton, for the protection of that post.

On the day when Grant's supplies were seized at Holly Springs, about twenty thousand National troops, led by General W. T. Sherman, left Memphis in transports, with siege guns, to beleaguer Vicksburg. At Friar's Point they were joined by troops from Helena, and were met by Commodore Porter, whose fleet of gun-boats were at the mouth of the Yazoo River, just above Vicksburg. The two commanders arranged a plan for attacking the city in the rear, and proceeded to execute it. The troops and fleet went up the Yazoo River to capture some batteries which disputed

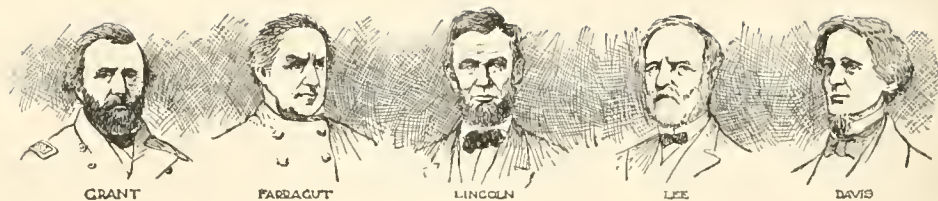
the way to that rear; but Sherman was repulsed after a sharp battle at Chickasaw Bayou (December 28), and the project was abandoned for a time.

General John A. McClelland, the senior of Sherman in rank, arrived at headquarters, near Vicksburg, early in January, 1863, and took the chief command. He and Porter went up the Arkansas River with their forces, and on the 11th captured the important Fort Hindman at Arkansas Post. In the meantime General Grant had arranged his army into four corps, and with it descended the river from Memphis to prosecute the siege of Vicksburg with vigor. He was soon convinced that it could not be taken by direct assault. He tried to perfect the canal begun by Farragut, but failed; and then he sent a considerable land and naval force up the Yazoo to capture batteries at Haines's Bluff, and so gain a footing in the rear of Vicksburg. These were repulsed at Fort Pemberton, near Greenwood, late in March. Other channels among the brimming bayous and small rivers were diligently sought by the indomitable Porter, to gain the rear of the foredoomed city, but in vain, and again the enterprise was abandoned. The details of these efforts of the army and navy, during the spring of 1863, form one of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the war. The waters were then redundant, and the voyages were sometimes wild and perilous, the gun-boats sweeping on strong currents through overflowed swamps under lofty overarching trees draped with the trailing Spanish moss, and having their smoke-stacks leveled at times, and their wheels fearfully bruised.

While these operations against Vicksburg were in progress, there had been lively times on the bosom of the Mississippi. In February (1863), iron-clad vessels of Porter's fleet ran by the batteries at Vicksburg, and made considerable havoc among Confederate transports below that were supplying the troops there and at Port Hudson with stores. These venture-some National vessels were lost, and their crews were made prisoners. Later, when Grant had sent a strong land force down the west side of the river, Porter successfully ran by the batteries at Vicksburg with nearly his whole fleet and the transports, on the night of the 16th of April. Then Grant prepared for vigorous operations on the flank and rear of Vicksburg, on the line of the Big Black River. Porter also attacked and ran by the Confederate batteries at Grand Gulf, on the 27th of April, when Grant's army crossed the Mississippi a little below, pressed forward, and at Port Gibson gained a decisive victory in a battle fought there on the first of May.

In the meantime, Sherman, who had made another unsuccessful effort to capture the batteries at Haines's Bluff, by order of General Grant, marched

down the west side of the Mississippi, crossed it, and joined the main army on the 8th of May. Then the whole force pushed rapidly toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, where General Joseph E. Johnston was in command of a Confederate army. After a severe battle at Raymond, on the 12th of May, in which the Confederates were defeated, and another near Jackson, on the 14th, when the insurgents were driven northward, the Nationals seized the State capital, and destroyed a large quantity of public property there. Then the victorious army turned toward Vicksburg, and after defeating the Confederates under Pemberton at Champion Hills on the 16th of May, and at the passage of the Black River on the 17th, the National army swept on and closely invested Vicksburg, in the rear, on the 19th, receiving their supplies from a base on the Yazoo, established by Porter. For a fortnight the army had drawn its subsistence from the country through which it had passed. It now rested for a brief space after a wonderful week's work. Then, after two unsuccessful and disastrous assaults on Vicksburg, Grant began a regular siege of the works there, with the co-operation of Porter's fleet.



CHAPTER CXXVI.

Investment and Siege of Vicksburg—Galveston—Banks in Louisiana—Siege and Surrender of Port Hudson—The Two Armies in Virginia—Peck and Longstreet at Suffolk—Moseby at Fairfax Court-House—Cavalry Battle—Cavalry Raids—Movements on Chancellorsville—Battle There—Death of "Stonewall Jackson"—Sedgwick's Escape—Retreat of the Army of the Potomac—Siege of Suffolk—The Confederate Army and Service—Power of the Confederates Abroad—Davis Recognized by the Pope—Napoleon, Mexico, and the Confederacy—Napoleon's Real Designs—Confederates Invade Maryland and Pennsylvania—Panic—Operations in Pennsylvania—Battle at Gettysburg—Seward's Circular.

AFTER Grant's last assault on Vicksburg, his effective men did not exceed twenty thousand in number. He determined to make the capture of Vicksburg an event of the near future, and called in reinforcements. They came in such numbers, that by the middle of June the investment of Vicksburg was made absolute. Sherman's corps was on the extreme right, McPherson's next and extending to the railway, and Ord's (late McClernand's) on the left, the investment in that direction being made complete by the divisions of Herron and Lanman, the latter lying across Stout's Bayou, and touching the bluffs on the river. Parke's corps, and the divisions of Smith and Kimball, were sent to Haines's Bluff, where fortifications commanding the land side had been erected to confront any attempt that Johnston might make in that direction. Meanwhile Vice-Admiral Porter had made complete and ample arrangements for the most efficient co-operation on the river, and his skill and zeal were felt throughout the siege, which continued until the first week in July.

Every day, shot and shell were hurled upon the city and the insurgent camps, from land and water. The inhabitants were compelled to seek shelter in caves dug out of the clay hills on which the city stands. In these, whole families, free and bond, lived for many weeks, while their houses without were perforated by the iron hail. Therein children were born, and persons died, and soldiers sought shelter from the tempest of war. Very soon famine afflicted the citizens. Fourteen ounces of food became a regular allowance for each person for forty-eight hours. The flesh of mules made savory dishes toward the end of the siege. Finally the besiegers

undermined one of the principal forts of the enemy, in the line of the defences on the land side, and it was blown up with fearful effect. Other mines were made ready for the infernal work, when Pemberton, despairing of expected aid from Johnston, made a proposition to Grant to surrender the post and his army. The generals met under the shadow of a live-oak tree in the rear of the town on the 3d of July to arrange the terms of surrender, and on the 4th the stronghold of Vicksburg, with twenty-seven thousand men and a vast amount of ordnance, and other public property, were surrendered to the leader of the National forces.

From the time of the battle at Port Gibson to the fall of Vicksburg, General Grant had captured thirty thousand prisoners (among them fifteen general officers), with arms and ammunition for an army of sixty thousand men; also steamboats, locomotives, railroads, a vast amount of cotton, etc. He had lost, during that time, nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-three men, of whom one thousand two hundred and thirty-three had been killed. By the experience of those few weeks, he had ascertained the real weakness of the Confederacy in that region.

On the night of the 4th of July (1863), the powerful fleet of Vice-Admiral Porter was lying quietly at the levee at Vicksburg, and in commemoration of that National holiday our troops regaled the citizens with a fine display of fireworks more harmless than those which, for more than forty nights, had coursed the heavens above them like malignant meteors.

Galveston had been recaptured by the Confederates on the first of January, 1863; but that victory was rendered almost fruitless by a close blockade of the post by National vessels. From that time General Banks had been co-operating with General Grant, and making efforts to "repossess" Louisiana. An expedition under General Weitzel and Commodore McKean Buchanan took possession of the remarkable Teché country in that State, when Banks concentrated his troops, about twelve thousand in number, at Baton Rouge (which was then held by General Grover), for the purpose of assisting Commodore Farragut in an attempt to pass the formidable batteries at Port Hudson, twenty-five miles up the Mississippi. That attempt was made on the night of the 13th of March, when a terrible contest occurred, in the darkness, between the vessels and the land batteries. Only Farragut's flag-ship (the *Hartford*) and another succeeded in passing by.

Banks now sent a large portion of his available troops into the interior of Louisiana, where General Richard Taylor was in command of a Confederate force. The Nationals were concentrated at Brashear City, on the Atchafalaya, and from that point they marched triumphantly to the Red

River, accompanied by Banks in person. From Alexandria, early in May, that general wrote to his Government that the Confederate power in northern and central Louisiana was broken; and with this impression he moved eastward with his troops, crossed the Mississippi River, and late in May (1863) invested Port Hudson, then in command of the Confederate general, Frank Gardner. For forty days he besieged that post, during which time many gallant deeds were performed on each side. Banks was ably assisted by the squadron of Farragut—the *Hartford*, *Albatross*, *Monongahela*, *Richmond*, *Essex* and *Tennessee*, and some mortar-boats. Finally, at the close of June, the ammunition of the closely invested garrison was almost exhausted. When news of the fall of Vicksburg reached Gardner, he perceived that further attempts at resistance would be futile; and on the 9th of July he surrendered the post to Banks, with much spoil. The National loss during the siege was about three thousand men, and that of the Confederates, exclusive of prisoners, was about eight hundred. The loss of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was a severe calamity for the Confederates. It gave the final blow in the removal of the obstructions to the navigation of the Mississippi River by Confederate batteries, and thenceforth it was free. Powerful portions of the Confederacy were “repossessed” by the National Government, and wise men among the enemies of the Republic clearly perceived that their cause was hopeless.

At the moment when Vicksburg fell, the *Army of the Potomac* gained an equally important victory on the soil of Pennsylvania. We left that army on the northern side of the Rappahannock River, near Fredericksburg, in charge of General Joseph Hooker. From January to April (1863), he was engaged in preparing for a vigorous summer campaign. His forces remained in comparative quiet for about three months, during which time they were reorganized and well-disciplined; and at the close of April, his army numbered one hundred thousand effective men. General Lee's army, on the other side of the river, had been divided; a large force under General Longstreet being required to watch the movements of the Nationals under General Peck, in the vicinity of Norfolk. Lee had in hand about sixty thousand well-drilled troops, lying behind strong intrenchments extending twenty-five miles along the line of the Rappahannock. For the space of three months some cavalry movements only, disturbed the two armies. General W. H. F. Lee, with a mounted force, attacked National troops at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown, early in February; and at midnight of the 8th of March, Colonel Moseby, at the head of a band of guerrillas, dashed into the village of Fairfax Court-House and carried off the commander of the Union forces there. A little later National cavalry under General

Averill and Confederate horsemen led by General Fitzhugh Lee, had a severe battle near Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, in which the former were repulsed. That was the first purely cavalry contest of the war.

Hooker became impatient. The time of the enlistment of many of his troops would soon expire, and he determined to put his army in motion toward Richmond early in April, notwithstanding his ranks were not full. Cavalry, under General Stoneman, were sent to destroy railways in Lee's



A CAVALRY ENGAGEMENT.

rear, but were foiled by high water in the streams. After a pause, Hooker determined to attempt to turn Lee's flank, and for that purpose he sent ten thousand mounted men to raid in his rear. Then he threw thirty-six thousand troops of his own right wing across the Rappahannock, with orders to halt and intrench at Chancellorsville between the Confederate army and Richmond. This movement was so masked by a demonstration on Lee's

front, by Hooker's left wing under General Sedgwick, that the right was well advanced before Lee was aware of his peril. These troops reached Chancellorsville in a region known as The Wilderness, on the evening of the 30th of April, when Hooker expected to see Lee, conscious of danger, fly toward Richmond. He did no such thing, but proceeded to strike the National army a heavy blow, for the twofold purpose of seizing the communications between the two parts of that army and compelling its commander to fight at a disadvantage, with only a portion of his troops in hand. For this purpose, "Stonewall Jackson" was sent with a heavy force, early in the morning of the first of May, to attack the Nationals, when Hooker sent out his troops to meet them. The Confederates moved upon Chancellorsville by two roads. A sharp engagement ensued, when the Nationals were pushed back to a defensive position behind their intrenchments; but the efforts of Lee to seize these works were foiled.

Both armies were now in a perilous position. Hooker resolved to rest on the defensive; but Lee boldly detached the whole of Jackson's command, on the morning of the 2d of May, and sent it under cover of the forest-curtain of The Wilderness to make a secret flank movement and gain the rear of the Nationals. It was observed by the latter. Suddenly, Jackson burst from the woods with twenty-five thousand men, and falling upon Hooker's right, crumbled it, and sent the astounded column in confusion upon the remainder of the line. A desperate battle, in which nearly all the troops on both sides participated, was the consequence. It lasted until late in the evening, when Jackson fell, mortally wounded by a bullet sent by mistake, in the gloom, by one of his own men. Jackson had been engaged in a personal reconnoissance with his staff and an escort; and when returning, in the darkness, to his lines, he and his companions were mistaken by their friends for Union cavalry.

Hooker now made disposition for a renewal of the conflict on the morning of the 3d. He had called Reynolds's corps of more than twenty thousand men from Sedgwick, and these arrived late on Saturday evening (the 2d), swelling his army to sixty thousand. Sedgwick, by Hooker's order, had crossed the Rappahannock, seized Fredericksburg and the Heights, and was pushing on toward Chancellorsville, when he was checked by troops sent by Lee, and compelled to retreat across the river at Banks's Ford, to save his army. This was accomplished on the night of the 4th and 5th of May. In the meantime there had been hard fighting at Chancellorsville. At dawn on Sunday morning, the 3d of May, the dashing General Stuart, leading the column of the slain commander so much loved, shouted, when he saw the Nationals, "Charge, and remember Jackson!" and then fell heavily

upon the troops commanded by General Sickles. The conflict was desperate and soon became general; and the National army, after a long struggle, was finally pushed from the field to a strong position on the roads back of Chancellorsville.

Lee's army was now united; that of Hooker was yet divided; and hearing of Sedgwick's critical situation, the latter determined to retreat to the north side of the Rappahannock. The *Army of the Potomac* passed the river in safety on the night of the 4th, when Lee, unable to follow, resumed his former position on the Heights of Fredericksburg. Both armies had lost heavily—the Nationals over seventeen thousand men including prisoners, and the Confederates about fifteen thousand. Meanwhile Stoneman's cavalry had been raiding on Lee's communications with Richmond, and a part of them, under Colonel Judson Kilpatrick, had swept down within two miles of that city. They destroyed much property, but failed to break up the railway communication between Lee and the Confederate capital. So far the raiding was a failure.

Longstreet, as we have observed, had been sent to confront General Peck in southeastern Virginia. The latter was strongly fortified near Suffolk, where he was besieged by Longstreet early in April, who expected to drive the Nationals from that post, and seizing Norfolk and its vicinity, make a demonstration against Fortress Monroe. He failed; and hearing of the struggle at Chancellorsville, he abandoned the siege and joined Lee with his large detachment.

Lee's army was now strong in material and moral force. Recent successes had greatly inspirited it. It was reorganized into three army corps, commanded respectively by Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Ewell. These were all able leaders, and each bore the commission of lieutenant-general. And at no time, probably, during the war was the Confederate army more complete in numbers, equipment and discipline, or furnished with more ample materials for carrying on the conflict, than it was at the middle of June, 1863. According to the most careful estimates made from the Confederate official returns, there were then at least *five hundred thousand* men on the army rolls, and more than *three hundred thousand* "present and fit for duty." Fully one-half of the white men of the Confederacy eligible to military duty, were then enrolled for active service, while a large proportion of the other half were in the civil and military service in other capacities. Doubtless at least seven-tenths of the white adults were then in public business; while a large number of slaves, though legally emancipated, were employed in various labors, such as working on fortifications, as teamsters, etc. The following is the form of a voucher held by the

Confederate government as the employer of slaves for such purposes. It is copied from the original before me:

"We, the subscribers, acknowledge to have received of John B. Stannard, First Corps of Engineers, the sums set opposite our names respectively, being in full for the services of our slaves on Drewry's Bluff, during the months of March and April, 1863, having signed duplicate receipts.

<i>From whom hired.</i>	<i>Name and occupation.</i>	<i>Time employed.</i>	<i>Rate of Wages.</i>	<i>Amount for each slave.</i>	<i>Amount received.</i>	<i>Signatures.</i>
J. G. Woodin.	William, laborer,	22 days.	\$16 a month.		\$13 33	Joseph G. Woodin.
William E. Martin.	Richard, "	37 "	" "	\$19.75		
"	Henry, "	37 "	" "	19.75	39.46	W. E. Martin.

"I certify the above pay-roll is correct and just.

"JOHN B. STANNARD."

Richmond seemed secure from harm. Charleston was defiant, and with reason. Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi, though seriously menaced, seemed impregnable against any force Grant or Banks might array before them; and the appeals of General Johnston, near Jackson, for reinforcements, were regarded as notes of unnecessary alarm. The Confederates were encouraged by their friends in Europe with promises of aid; and the desires of these for the acknowledgment of the independence of the "Confederate States of America" were strongly manifested. In England, public movements in favor of the Confederates were then prominent. Open-air meetings, organized by members of the aristocracy, were held, for the purpose of urging the British government to declare such recognition; and in the spring of 1864 a "Southern Independence Association" was formed with a British peer (Lord Wharncliffe) as president, and a membership composed of powerful representatives of the Church, State, and Trade. But the British government wisely hesitated; and notwithstanding the unpatriotic Peace-Faction in the city of New York had, six months before (November, 1862), waited upon Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, with an evident desire to have his government interfere in our affairs, and thus secure the independence of the Confederates, and the emissaries of the conspirators were specially active in Europe, the British ministry, restrained by the good Queen, steadily refused to take decided action in the matter. Only the Roman Pontiff, then a temporal prince, of all the rulers of the earth officially recognized Jefferson Davis as the head of a real government.

At the same time, a scheme of the emperor of the French for the destruction of the Republic of Mexico, and the establishment there of a

monarchy ruled by a man of his own selection, and pledged to act in the interests of despotism, the Roman Catholic Church and the promotion of the domination of the Latin race, was in successful operation, by means of twenty thousand French soldiers and five thousand allied Mexicans. In this movement, it is alleged, the leaders of the great insurrection were the secret allies of the emperor, it being understood that as soon as he should obtain a firm footing in Mexico he should, for valuable commercial considerations agreed upon, acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States, and uphold it by force of arms if necessary; it also being understood that the government which Davis and his associates were to establish at the close of hostilities should, in no wise, offend Napoleon's imperialistic ideas. The slave-holding class were to be a privileged one, and be the rulers, and the great mass of the people were to be subordinated to the interests of that class. Therefore, the triumphal march of the French invaders of Mexico, in the spring of 1863, was hailed with delight by the *government* at Richmond, while the great mass of the people were ignorant of the conspiracy on foot to deprive them of their sacred rights.

At the same time the perfidious emperor was deceiving the Confederate leaders concerning his real and deeper designs, which were both political and ecclesiastical. His political design evidently was to arrest the march of empire southward on the part of the United States. His religious design was to assist the Church party in Mexico, which had been defeated in 1857, in a recovery of its power, that the Roman Catholic Church might have undisputed sway in Central America. In a letter to the Spanish General Prim, in July, 1862, the emperor, after saying that the United States fed the factories of Europe with cotton, and asserting that it was not the interest of European governments to have our country hold dominion over the Gulf of Mexico, the Antilles, and the adjacent continent, he declared that if, with the assistance of France, Mexico should have a "stable government"—that is, a monarchy—"we shall have restored to the Latin race upon the opposite side of the ocean, its strength and prestige; we shall have guaranteed then security to our colonies in the Antilles, and to those of Spain; we shall have established our beneficent influence in the centre of America; and in this influence, by creating immense openings to our commerce, will procure to us the matter indispensable to our industry"—that is, cotton. This contemplated blow against our great cotton interest was a prime element in Napoleon's scheme, for the consummation of which he coquetted with the Confederate leaders, and deceived them.

The Confederate government, greatly elated by the events at Chancellorsville, ordered Lee to invade Maryland again. His force was now almost

equal in numbers to that of his antagonist, and in better spirits than were the *Army of the Potomac*. By a sudden flank movement, Lee caused Hooker to break up his encampment on the Rappahannock and move toward Washington, after some sharp cavalry fights above Fredericksburg. General Ewell, in command of Lee's left wing, was sent into the Shenandoah Valley through Chester Gap, and sweeping down toward the Potomac, drove General Milroy and seven thousand National troops across that stream, on the 15th of June. Meanwhile Longstreet, with a strong force, moved along the eastern bases of the Blue Ridge, watching for an opportunity to fall on Washington city; while Hooker moved in a parallel line to thwart him. Several cavalry engagements ensued; and fifteen hundred mounted Confederates dashed across the Potomac in pursuit of Milroy's wagon-train. They pushed up the Cumberland Valley as far as Chambersburg, plundering the people and causing intense alarm in all Pennsylvania.

Lee had, by skillful movements, kept Hooker in doubt as to his real object, until Ewell's corps had crossed the Potomac above Harper's Ferry on the 22d and 23d of June, and marched rapidly up the Cumberland Valley to within a few miles of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania. Another large body of Confederates, led by General Early, pushed on through Gettysburg to York, on the Susquehanna, levying contributions on friend and foe alike. Ewell and Early were speedily followed by Hill and Longstreet (June 25, 1863), and again the whole of Lee's army was in Maryland and Pennsylvania. It seemed, at one time, as if nothing could prevent that army penetrating to the Schuylkill and even to the Hudson. The panic north of the Potomac was intense. Valuable goods that were portable were sent from Philadelphia to points above the Hudson Highlands, for safety. The people flew to arms everywhere to oppose the invaders.

The *Army of the Potomac* was now one hundred thousand strong. It was thrown across the river into Maryland, at and near Edwards's Ferry. Halleck (the general-in-chief) and Hooker differed most decidedly in opinions about some important military movements that were proposed, when the latter resigned and was succeeded by General George G. Meade, who held the command of that army until the close of the war. Meade entered upon his duties at Frederick (June 28), in Maryland, where the *Army of the Potomac* lay, ready to strike Lee's communications or to attack him, as circumstances might dictate.

Lee was preparing to cross the Susquehanna and push on to Philadelphia, when news reached him that the reinforced *Army of the Potomac* was threatening his flank and rear. Alarmed by this intelligence and the

rapid gathering of the yeomanry on his front, he ordered the concentration of his army near Gettysburg, with the intention of crushing Meade's forces by a single blow, and then marching on Baltimore and Washington; or, in case of failure, to secure a direct line of retreat into Virginia. In the meantime Meade was pushing toward the Susquehanna with cautious movement; and on the evening of the 30th of June he discovered Lee's evident intention to give battle at once.

The National cavalry, meanwhile, had been carefully reconnoitering; and on the previous day, Kilpatrick's mounted men had a sharp fight at Hanover, a few miles from Gettysburg, with some of Stuart's cavalry, and, assisted by General Custer, defeated them. Buford's division of National cavalry entered Gettysburg the same day; and the next day the left wing of Meade's army, led by General J. F. Reynolds, arrived near there. At the same time the corps of Hill and Longstreet were approaching from Chambersburg, and Ewell was marching down from Carlisle in full force. That night Buford's cavalry, six thousand strong, encamped between Reynolds and Hill.

On the morning of the first of July, Buford met the van of Lee's army, led by General Heth, between Seminary Ridge, a little out of Gettysburg, and a parallel ridge a little further west, when a sharp skirmish ensued. Reynolds, who was a few miles distant, hastened to the relief of Buford, and in a severe battle that followed, he was killed, and General Abner Doubleday took command of his troops. In the meantime General O. O. Howard came up with his corps. Lee's troops were then concentrated there, and the battle soon assumed grander proportions. The Nationals were finally pressed back; and under the general direction of Howard, they took a strong position on a range of rocky hills near Gettysburg, of which Culp's Hill and Little Round Top were the two extremes of the line, and Cemetery Hill, at the village, was the apex. There the Nationals rested that night, and the Confederates occupied Seminary Ridge.

General Meade, with the remainder of the *Army of the Potomac*, now hastened to Gettysburg, and he and Lee prepared cautiously to renew the battle. It did not begin until the middle of the afternoon of the 2d, when Lee fell, with great weight, upon Meade's left wing commanded by General Sickles. A most sanguinary battle ensued, extending to the centre on Cemetery Hill, where General Hancock was in command. Heavy masses of Confederates were hurled against him, and these were thrown back with fearful losses on both sides. Meanwhile there had been a terrible struggle on the right and centre of the Nationals, where Generals Slocum and Howard were in command, the former on Culp's Hill, and the latter on

Cemetery Hill. Against these a large portion of Ewell's corps had been sent. The latter were pushed back by Howard, but seized and occupied the works of Slocum, on the extreme right of Culp's Hill, that night. The battle ended at sunset on the left, but it was continued until about ten o'clock that night on the right.

Slocum renewed the battle at four o'clock on the morning of the 3d, when he drove the Confederates out of his lines after a hard struggle for



A PICKET ON DUTY.

four hours. There he held Ewell in check, while the contest raged elsewhere. Lee, perceiving the Little Round Top—a steep, rocky eminence—to be impregnable, proceeded, at a little past noon, to attack the more vulnerable centre. Upon this he opened one hundred and forty-five heavy cannon, chiefly against Cemetery Hill and its vicinity, occupied by Meade's centre. A hundred National great guns quickly answered; and for two

hours a fearful cannonade that shook the country around was kept up. Then the Confederates, in heavy columns, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, swept over the plain and assailed the National line with great fury. It was intended by Lee to give a crushing blow that should ensure victory. A terrible struggle followed, that covered the ground with the slain—men and horses. At sunset the Confederates were repulsed at all points; and



PURSUIT OF THE CONFEDERATES.

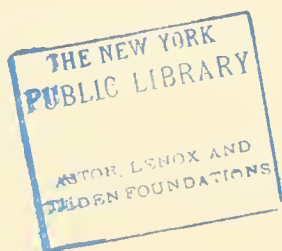
the decisive battle of Gettysburg ended in triumph for the *Army of the Potomac*. In that fearful struggle, the Nationals lost in killed, wounded and missing, over twenty-three thousand men; the Confederates lost about thirty thousand, including fourteen thousand prisoners.

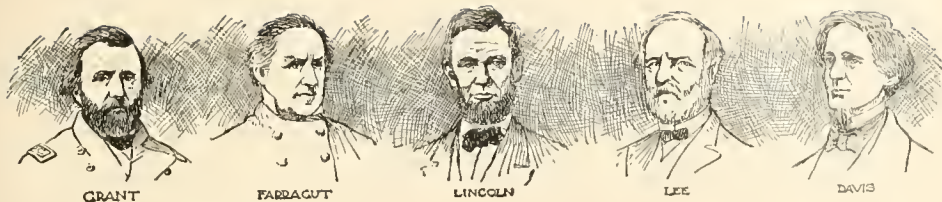
On the evening of the day after the battle (July 4, 1863) Lee began a retreat toward Virginia, followed the next day by Meade, who pursued as far as the Potomac, which had been filled to the brim by heavy rains; but the Confederate leader, by skillful management, kept the Nationals at bay until he had made ready to cross that stream by pontoons and fording.

This he did with his shattered army, his artillery and trains, on the 14th of July, much to the disappointment of the loyal people. Perceiving the battle to be a decisive one in favor of the Union cause, and believing it to be a turning point in the war, the President of the United States recommended the people to observe the 15th of August next ensuing as a day for public National thanksgiving, praise, and prayer. And the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward), satisfied that the insurrection would soon be ended by the discomfiture of its supporters, sent a cheering circular to the diplomatic agents of the Republic abroad, in which he recited the most important events of the war to that time; declared that "the country showed no sign of exhaustion of money, material or men"; that one loan was "purchased at par by our citizens at the rate of \$1,200,000 daily"; and that gold was selling in our markets at 23 to 28 per centum premium, while in the insurrectionary region it commanded twelve hundred per centum premium.



LEE'S RETREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG





CHAPTER CXXVII.

Partisan Opposition to the Government—Knights of the Golden Circle—The Draft—Riots in New York—Colored Troops in New York—Morgan's Great Raid—Meade and Lee in Virginia—Operations of the Two Armies in Virginia—Raid in Western Virginia—Rosecrans and Bragg in Tennessee—Streight's Great Raid—Bragg Driven to and from Chattanooga—Burnside in East Tennessee—Battle of Chickamauga—The Army at Chattanooga—Division of Mississippi—Battle at Wauhatchie—The Mule Charge—Events in East Tennessee—Battle on Lookout Mountain and on Missionary Ridge—Operations against Charleston—Robert Small—Death of General Mitchel.

WHILE the loyal people were rejoicing because of the great deliverance at Gettysburg, and the Government was preparing for a final and decisive struggle with its foes, leading politicians of the Peace-Faction, evidently in affiliation with members of the disloyal organization known as *Knights of the Golden Circle*, were using every means in their power to defeat the patriotic purposes of the National Administration, and to stir up the people of the free-labor States to engage in a counter-revolution.

The association called *Knights of the Golden Circle* was organized, it is said, as early as 1835, by some of the leaders who were engaged in the nullification movements in South Carolina two or three years before. Its chief objects were the separation of the Union politically, at the line between the free-labor and slave-labor States; the seizure of some of the richest portions of Mexico and the Island of Cuba, and the establishment of an empire whose corner-stone should be Slavery. The bounds of that empire were within a circle, the centre of which was at Havana, in Cuba, with a radius of sixteen degrees of latitude and longitude, reaching northward to the Pennsylvania border and southward to the Isthmus of Darien and even beyond. It would include the West India Islands and those of the Caribbean Sea, with a large part of Eastern Mexico and the whole of Central America. The limits of this empire the projectors called "The Golden Circle," and the members of the association, "Knights of the Golden Circle," who formed the soul of all the "fillibustering" operations before the breaking out of the Civil War, from 1850 to 1857. When these failed,

their energies were put forth for the destruction of the Union. "Castles" or "lodges," with a secret ritual, were formed in various Southern States, and their membership included many active politicians north of the Ohio River, in 1863.

These disloyal men in the northern States, countenanced by the unpatriotic Peace-Faction, became very vehement in their opposition to the Government when, in the summer of 1863, a draft or conscription to fill up the ranks of the army which had been authorized by Congress, was put into operation by the President. This act, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, the arrest of seditious men, and other measures which the Government deemed necessary for the maintenance of the National authority, were denounced by the leaders of the party opposed to Mr. Lincoln's administration, as unconstitutional and outrageous. Instigated by raving political leaders, inflammatory speeches, and the daily utterances of the press that was in sympathy with the opponents of the draft, a mob, composed largely of the lower class of the Irish population in the city of New York, entered upon a fearful riot there early in July. It prevailed for almost three days. The immediate pretext for the disturbance was the alleged oppression of the draft. The riot was begun by destroying the telegraph wires extending out of the city. Then the rioters paraded some of the streets and forced citizens to join them; and after first uttering cries against the draft, they yelled, "Down with the Abolitionists! down with the nigger! Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" The special objects of their wrath were the innocent colored people and their friends. Arson and plunder, maiming and murder, were their business and recreation. Men and women were clubbed to death in the streets, hung on lamp-posts or butchered in their houses. The infuriated rioters laid in ashes an asylum for colored orphan children; and the terrified inmates, who fled in every direction, were pursued, and some of the poor children were cruelly beaten and maimed. The colored people throughout the city were hunted and treated as if they were noxious wild beasts, and many fled to the country. Finally the police, aided by troops, suppressed the insurrection in the city, but not until several hundred human lives had been lost, and property to the amount of at least \$2,000,000 was destroyed.

This riot seems to have been only an irregular manifestation of an organized outbreak in New York city simultaneously with a similar insurrection projected in some of the western cities. But the draft went on in spite of all opposition; and the Knights of the Golden Circle and the Peace-Faction were discomfited. The turn of affairs at Gettysburg made them more circumspect. They hesitated; and finally they postponed indefinitely

an attempt to execute their scheme. And six months after the terrible "three days of July"—13th, 14th and 15th—in the city of New York, when no colored person's life was considered safe there, a regiment of negro soldiers, raised and equipped by the Loyal League of that city, marched down Broadway—its great thoroughfare—for the field of battle, escorted



RIOT IN NEW YORK.

by many of the leading citizens of the metropolis, and cheered by thousands who covered the sidewalks and filled windows and balconies.

At about that time, the notorious guerrilla chief, John Morgan, made a famous raid through Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Ohio, entering Indiana from Kentucky, below Louisville, on the 8th of July, with about four thousand mounted men. This raid was intended as a signal for the uprising of the disloyal men in those States in favor of the Confederates.

The lesson taught at Gettysburg was heeded, and they were quiet. But there was a marvellous uprising of sixty thousand loyal yeomen of Indiana and Ohio to capture or expel the invaders. Morgan went swiftly through the country, from village to village, plundering, destroying, and levying contributions. He first encountered stout resistance from Indiana militia, and was soon closely pursued by those of Ohio. Finally this bold raider was hemmed in and made a prisoner, with many of his followers, in south-eastern Ohio, late in July, and the remainder were killed or dispersed.

Three days after General Lee escaped into Virginia, General Meade crossed the Potomac to follow his flying antagonist. The Nationals marched rapidly along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, while the Confederates as rapidly went up the Shenandoah Valley, after trying to check Meade by threatening to re-enter Maryland. Failing in this, Lee hastened to avert the danger that menaced his front and flank. During that exciting race, several skirmishes occurred in the mountain passes; when Lee, by a quick and skillful movement while Meade was detained at Manassas Gap by a heavy skirmish, darted through Chester Gap, and crossing the Rappahannock, took a position between that stream and the Rapid Anné. Meade advanced cautiously, and at the middle of September, he crossed the Rappahannock and drove Lee beyond the Rapid Anné, when the latter took a strongly defensive position. Meanwhile the National cavalry under Buford and Kilpatrick had been active between the two rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with Stuart's mounted troops.

Lee now attempted to turn the right flank of the *Army of the Potomac* to gain its rear and march rapidly on Washington. He had moved some distance for this purpose before Meade discovered his peril. Then a third race for the National Capital by the two armies over nearly the same course occurred. The *Army of the Potomac* won it, reaching Centreville Heights on the 15th of October. It was a race marked by the most stirring incidents, for there was much scouting and skirmishing on the way. At Jeffersonton, the National cavalry under General Gregg were routed; and at Auburn, the seat of John Minor Botts, a prominent Virginia statesman, Stuart, with two thousand Confederate cavalry, came very near being captured. From that point to Bristow's Station the race was sharp, for Centreville Heights was the goal. At Bristow's, a severe engagement occurred between the corps of Generals Warren and Hill. The latter was joined by that of Ewell; but before they could fall upon Warren, he withdrew in the night (October 14) and joined Meade at Centreville on the morning of the 15th.

The race was ended at Bristow's Station. Lee was beaten, and fell back

to the Rappahannock, destroying the railway behind him. Meade repaired the road, and following Lee slowly, attacked him at Rappahannock Station early in November. A very sharp battle ensued. It was fought by detachments of the Fifth and Sixth corps, under General Sedgwick; and it was ended by a gallant charge on a redoubt and rifle-trenches. These were carried in the face of a tempest of grape-shot and *minie* bullets, when the Nationals swept down to a pontoon bridge, cut off the retreat of the Confederates from the abandoned works, made over sixteen hundred of them prisoners, and drove Lee's army toward Culpepper Court-House. There the latter had proposed to go into winter-quarters; but this disaster alarmed him, and he sought safety from his pursuer behind the Rapid Anné. His force was then fifty thousand strong, and Meade's numbered seventy thousand. With these the latter crossed the Rappahannock and lay quietly between the two rivers until late in November, while Lee occupied a line of strong defences along Mine Run.

Feeling strong enough for the enterprise, Meade proceeded, on the 26th of November, to attempt a dislodgment of his antagonist. He crossed the Rapid Anné on that day, and pushed on in the direction of his foe. General Warren, in the advance, opened a battle; but Meade soon perceived that the Confederates were too strongly intrenched and weighty in numbers to give him hopes of success, and he withdrew. The *Army of the Potomac* went into winter-quarters on the north side of the Rapid Anné: and so was ended the campaign of that army for the year 1863.

There had been comparative quiet in Western Virginia since the autumn of 1861; but in the summer and fall of 1863, that quiet was broken by an extensive raid over that region by National cavalry led by General W. W. Averill, who, before the close of the year, nearly purged West Virginia of armed Confederates, and seriously interrupted railway communication between the army of Lee in Virginia and Bragg in Tennessee. We left the last-named officer and Rosecrans confronting each other in Tennessee, after the battle of Murfreesboro'; Bragg below the Duck River and Rosecrans at the scene of the battle. The two armies held that relative position from January to June, 1863; while the cavalry forces of each were active in minor operations. Confederate cavalry, four thousand strong, led by Generals Wharton and Forrest, attempted to capture Fort Donelson early in February, but failed. A little later General Van Dorn, with a considerable force of cavalry, was near Franklin, below Nashville, threatening Rosecrans's supplies at the latter place. In March, General Sheridan drove Van Dorn south of the Duck River; and in the same month Morgan was operating with considerable effect eastward of Murfreesboro'. Van Dorn

re-appeared near Franklin, early in April, with about nine thousand Confederates; and on the 10th he attacked the Nationals there, who were commanded by General Gordon Granger. Van Dorn intended, if he won, to push on and seize Nashville; but he was repulsed, and retired to Spring Hill with a loss of about three hundred men.

In the meantime Rosecrans had sent out expeditions in various ways, the most remarkable of which was led by Colonel A. D. Streight, who left Nashville in steamers, debarked his troops at Fort Donelson, marched over to the Tennessee River, and moved up that stream to the borders of Mississippi and Alabama, getting horses by the way for the purpose of mounting his men. The latter service was nearly completed at Tuscumbia; and from that point Streight, with his troopers, swept in a curve bending eastward, through Alabama into Georgia, in the rear of Bragg's army. Their chief objects were Rome, where the Confederates had extensive iron-works, and Atlanta, the centre of an important system of railroads. They were pursued by the cavalry of Forrest and Roddy, and these parties skirmished and raced until Streight was within a few miles of Rome, when his exhausted horses and his ammunition failed him. Many of the poor beasts died; and when, on the 3d of May (1863), the raiders were struck by their pursuers, the former were compelled to surrender. The captives were sent to Richmond and confined in the loathsome Libby Prison, from which Streight and one hundred of his officers escaped by burrowing under the foundations of that edifice.

The *Army of the Cumberland*, in three divisions, commanded respectively by Generals Thomas, McCook and Crittenden, began its march from Murfreesboro' to Chattanooga, in northern Georgia, late in June. Bragg was then strongly intrenched on the line of the Duck River, but was pushed back to Tullahoma; and when he saw Rosecrans seize the mountain passes on his front, and seriously menace his flank, he turned and fled without giving a blow, his antagonist pressing hard upon his rear. Having the advantage of railway communication, the retreating army very easily kept ahead of their pursuers, and passing rapidly over the Cumberland Mountains toward the Tennessee River, they crossed that stream at Bridgeport, destroying the bridge behind them, and made a rapid march to Chattanooga.

The expulsion of Bragg's army from Tennessee alarmed and disheartened the Confederates, and they felt that everything depended on their holding Chattanooga, the key to East Tennessee and northern Georgia. Toward that point the *Army of the Cumberland* moved slowly; and late in August it had crossed the mountains, and was stretched along the Tennessee River,

from above Chattanooga, many a league westward. On the 21st of August, National artillery placed on the eminence opposite Chattanooga, awakened the mountain echoes with their thunder, and sent screaming shells over the Confederate camp. Bragg was startled by a sense of immediate danger; and when, soon afterward, Generals Thomas and McCook crossed the Tennessee, with their corps, and took possession of the passes of Lookout Mountain on Bragg's flank, and Crittenden took post at Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley, nearer the river, the Confederates abandoned Chattanooga, passed through the gaps of Missionary Ridge and encamped on the Chickamauga Creek near Lafayette, in northern Georgia, there to meet expected National forces when pressing through the gaps of Lookout Mountain and threatening their communications with Dalton and Resaca. From the lofty summit of Lookout Mountain, Crittenden had observed the retreat of Bragg from the Tennessee River, and he immediately led his forces into the Chattanooga Valley and encamped at Ross's Gap in Missionary Ridge, within three miles of the town.

General Burnside was then in command of the Army of the Ohio, and had been ordered to co-operate with Rosecrans. With twenty thousand men he climbed over the Cumberland Mountains into the magnificent Valley of East Tennessee, his baggage and stores carried, in many places, on the backs of pack-mules. On his entering the Valley, twenty thousand Confederates in East Tennessee, commanded by General Buckner, fled to Georgia and joined Bragg, when Burnside took a position near the Tennessee River, so as to have easy communication with Rosecrans at Chattanooga. The latter, meanwhile, erroneously supposing Bragg had begun a retreat toward Rome, had pushed through the mountain passes, when he was surprised to find that general, instead of retreating, concentrating his forces to attack the attenuated line of the Nationals, the extremities of which were fifty miles apart. Rosecrans proceeded at once to concentrate his own forces; and very soon the two armies were confronting each other in battle array, on each side of Chickamauga Creek, in the vicinity of Crawfish Spring, each line extending toward the slopes of Missionary Ridge. General Thomas, who was on the extreme left of the National line, opened the battle on the morning of the 19th of September. It raged with great fierceness until dark, when the Nationals seemed to have the advantage. That night General Longstreet, whom Lee had sent from Virginia to assist Bragg, arrived with fresh troops which swelled the Confederate army to seventy thousand men, and gave to it a far better soldier than the chief leader. Rosecrans's army did not then exceed, in number, fifty-five thousand men.

On the morning of the 20th the contest was renewed after a thick fog had risen from the earth. There was a fearful struggle. A furious charge upon the National right had shattered it into fragments, and these fled in disorder toward Chattanooga. This tide carried with it the troops led by Rosecrans, Crittenden and McCook; and the commanding-general, unable to join Thomas, and believing the whole army would speedily be hurrying pell-mell toward Chattanooga, hastened to that place to provide for rallying them there. Generals Sheridan and J. C. Davis rallied a part of these troops, and Thomas stood firm, frustrating every effort to turn his flank. Forty-eight hours after the battle the army, which had been withdrawn to Chattanooga, was strongly intrenched there.

Victory crowned the Confederates in the battle of Chickamauga, but at the fearful cost of about twenty-one thousand men killed, wounded, and made prisoners. The Nationals lost about nineteen thousand men. During the contest a little volunteer soldier named John Clem, then about twelve years of age, performed a deed of daring. He had been in the thickest of the fight when, separated from his companions, he was seen running with a musket in his hand by a mounted Confederate colonel, who called out, "Stop! you little Yankee devil!" The boy halted, with his musket to an order, when the colonel rode up to make him a prisoner. Young Clem, with swift motion, brought up his gun and shot the colonel dead. The boy escaped; and for this achievement he was made a sergeant, put on duty at the headquarters of the *Army of the Cumberland*, and placed on the roll of honor by General Rosecrans. He grew to manhood, married, and held a position in one of the departments of Government in Washington.

For a time the vanquished army suffered much at Chattanooga, for communication with their supplies by the Tennessee was cut off, the Confederates occupying Lookout Mountain and commanding that stream. Bragg hoped to starve his foes into submission. He strove to deprive them of all supplies, and severe struggles between detachments of the two armies were the consequences. Bragg failed. The National Government had determined to hold Chattanooga, and orders were given for the consolidation of the armies of the *Cumberland* and *Tennessee*, constituting the military division of the *Mississippi*, with General Grant as commander-in-chief. He had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi River, after the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, by driving the Confederates, under Johnston, from the vicinity and strongly fortifying the first-named place; and when he took command of the new division, General Sherman was made the leader of the *Army of the Tennessee*, and General Thomas was

placed in command of the *Army of the Cumberland*, Rosecrans having been ordered to St. Louis.

When Grant arrived at Chattanooga, he ordered Hooker, who was at Bridgeport, to advance to Lookout Valley, menace Bragg's flank, and protect the passage of supplies up the Tennessee to within a short distance from the famishing armies. This was promptly done. Hooker's main force took post at Wauhatchie, where he was attacked before daylight on the morning of the 29th of October. After a battle for three hours in the



EXPLOIT OF LITTLE JOHN CLEM.

darkness, the Confederates were beaten and driven away. An amusing incident of this struggle occurred. When it began, about two hundred mules, frightened by the noise, broke from their tethers and dashed into the ranks of Wade Hampton's legion, and produced a great panic. The Confederates supposed it to be a charge of Hooker's cavalry, and fell back, at first, in great confusion. The incident was a theme for a mock-heroic poem of six stanzas in imitation of Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade," two verses of which were as follows :

"Forward, the mule brigade—
Was there a mule dismay'd?
Not when their long ears felt
All their ropes sundered.
Theirs not to make reply—
Theirs not to reason why—
Theirs but to make them fly—
On! to the Georgia troops
Broke the two hundred.

"Mules to the right of them—
Mules to the left of them—
Mules all behind them—
Paw'd, neigh'd, and thundered;
Breaking their own confines—
Breaking through Longstreet's lines—
Testing chivalric spines,
Into the Georgia troops
Storm'd the two hundred."

After this battle, the Tennessee was free for vessels with supplies for the National troops, and the two armies lay confronting each other, only about three miles apart.

Meanwhile there had been stirring events in the Valley of East Tennessee, where Burnside was trying to expel the Confederates. In these efforts he had spread his army considerably. Perceiving this, Bragg sent Longstreet to the Valley with a strong force to seize Knoxville and drive out the Nationals. He advanced swiftly and secretly; and on the 20th of October he struck a startling blow at Burnside's outposts at Philadelphia. In obedience to a command from Grant, the latter concentrated his forces (Ninth Army Corps), fell back to Knoxville, and there intrenched. Longstreet pressed forward, and after some fighting by the way, he began a regular siege of Knoxville at the middle of November. He continued it to the close of the month, when Generals Granger and Sherman were sent to the relief of Burnside, and caused the swift flight of Longstreet toward Virginia. By this blunder, Bragg had lost the support of this superior commander.

Hostilities had again occurred near Chattanooga. General Sherman arrived there, with his army, from the West. So strengthened, Grant determined to attack Bragg in the absence of Longstreet. On the 23d of November, General Thomas seized a commanding eminence in front of Missionary Ridge, called Orchard Knob, and fortified it; and Hooker was ordered to attack Bragg's left, on Lookout Mountain, the next morning, to divert attention from the movements of Sherman, who was to cross the Tennessee, above Chattanooga, and fall upon Bragg's right, on the Ridge. Hooker moved with vigor, fighting his way up the rugged wooded steepes of Lookout Mountain with musket, rifle and cannon, driving the Confederates before him. During the heaviest of the struggle the mountain was hooded in vapor that arose from the Tennessee and hid the combatants from the view of the anxious spectators at Chattanooga. They could hear the thunders of the artillery, but the warriors were invisible. It was literally a battle in the clouds. Finally the Confederates were driven to the summit:

and that night they fled down the northern slopes to the Chattanooga Valley, and joined their commander on Missionary Ridge. In the crisp air and the sunlight, the next morning, the Stars and Stripes were seen waving over "Pulpit Rock," on the crest of Lookout Mountain, from which, a few days before, Jefferson Davis had harangued the troops, assuring them that all was well with the Confederacy.

Sherman, in the meantime, had crossed the Tennessee River and secured a position on the northern end of Missionary Ridge, on which Bragg had concentrated all his forces, and there the Confederates were attacked on front and flank on the 25th of November. Hooker came down from Lookout Mountain, and entering Ross's Gap, attacked Bragg's left, while Sherman was assailing his right. There was a fearful struggle, beheld with intense interest by General Grant, who stood on Orchard Knob and directed the movements of the National army. At length the centre, under General Thomas, moved up the declivities; and very soon the Confederates were driven from the Ridge, when they fled toward Ringgold, followed by a portion of the National army. At Ringgold, a sharp engagement occurred, when the Confederates retreated to Dalton, the Nationals fell back, and Sherman hastened to the relief of Burnside, as already mentioned.

General Grant reported the Union loss, in the series of struggles which ended in victory at Missionary Ridge, at five thousand six hundred and sixteen, in killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss was about three thousand one hundred, killed and wounded, and a little more than six thousand prisoners. Grant had also captured forty pieces of artillery and about seven thousand small arms. In a letter to the victorious general, the President thanked him and his men for their skill and bravery in securing "a lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville." Congress voted thanks and a gold medal for Grant, and directed the President of the Republic to cause the latter to be struck, "with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions." The general was the recipient of other tokens of regard, of various kinds; and the legislatures of New York and Ohio voted him thanks in the name of the people of those great States.

During the first half of 1863, General J. G. Foster was in command of the National troops in North Carolina, with his headquarters at New Berne, from which point he sent out raiding parties to scatter Confederate forces who were gathering here and there to recover lost posts in that State. In these expeditions, many sharp skirmishes took place. The Nationals were generally successful, and confined their antagonists to the interior of the State. Finally, in July (1863), Foster was called to the command at Fortress

Monroe, and left his troops in charge of General Palmer. Meanwhile there had been important occurrences in the vicinity of Charleston, South Carolina, the capture of that city being one objective of the National Government. Attempts had been made the previous year by General David Hunter (commanding the Department of the South) and Admiral Dupont, to seize that city, but failed. Dupont had received important information concerning military affairs at Charleston, from Robert Small, a slave, who was a pilot in the Confederate service. One night, at the middle of May (1862), assisted by some fellow-bondsmen, Small took the Confederate steamer *Planter* out of Charleston harbor, delivered her to Dupont, gave him valuable information, and entered the service of the Republic. Soon afterward the National land troops took a position on James Island, near Charleston; and at Secessionville, General Benham, with a small force, fought the Confederates at the middle of June, and was defeated. Further attempts to capture Charleston were then suspended.

Hunter was succeeded in the command of the department by General O. M. Mitchel, who, as we have observed, was called to Washington from Tennessee, where he chafed under Buell's command. He reached Hilton Head on the 16th of September, and with his usual vigor he devised plans and prepared to execute them for the public good. Hilton Head island was swarming with refugee slaves, and he at once took measures for their relief, laying out a village, causing neat and comfortable log-houses to be built for their residences, and finding employment for them. He was preparing to use his military force with vigor in his department; but before his arrangements were completed, he was smitten by a disease similar to the yellow fever, when he was conveyed to the more healthy locality of Beaufort, where he died on the 30th of October. From that time, until the spring of 1864, very little of importance occurred in the Department of the South, of which Hunter again became the commander.



Oliver O. Howard John A. Logan William B. Hazen William T. Sherman Jefferson C. Davis Henry W. Slocum J. A. Mower

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SHERMAN AND HIS GENERALS

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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CHAPTER CXXVIII.

Efforts to Capture Charleston—"The Swamp Angel"—Siege of Fort Wagner—Sumter in Ruins—Events West of the Mississippi—Invasion of Missouri—Lawrence Sacked—Events in Arkansas and in the Indian Territory—Raid into Missouri—Struggle for Louisiana—Grant in New Orleans—Designs against Texas—Forrest in Tennessee—Strength of the Nationals and Confederates Compared—High-Handed Measures—The British and the Confederates—Good Signs—Grant Lieutenant-General—Campaign of 1864—Sherman's Raid in Mississippi—Massacre at Fort Pillow—Forrest's Exploits—Red River Expedition—The Expedition Abandoned—Negro Troops.

ALTHOUGH Charleston had become a comparatively unimportant point in the grand theatre of the war, its possession was coveted by the National Government because of the salutary moral effect which such conquest would produce. A strong effort to accomplish that purpose was made in the spring of 1863. On the 6th of April, Admiral Dupont crossed Charleston Bar with nine "monitor" or turreted iron vessels, leaving five gunboats outside as a reserve, and proceeded to attack Fort Sumter, the most formidable obstacle in his way to the city. At the same time a co-operating force of land troops, four thousand strong, under General Truman Seymour, took a masked position on Folly Island. As Dupont approached, the cannon of the Confederates on Sumter and the adjacent batteries were silent until the vessels were entangled in an unsuspected network of torpedoes and other obstructions, when nearly three hundred guns opened a concentric fire upon the fleet, driving them back to the ocean and destroying the *Keokuk*, one of the smallest of the ironclads. The land troops could do nothing until Fort Sumter was reduced, and the enterprise was a failure.

In June following, General Quincey A. Gillmore succeeded General Hunter in the command of the Southern Department. He found himself at the head of eighteen thousand men, with a generous supply of ordnance, small arms, and stores. An expedition against Charleston, by land and water, was immediately planned. Gillmore determined to seize Morris Island, on which was strong Fort Wagner that commanded Fort Sumter. That island and its military works in his possession, he might batter down Fort Sumter with heavy siege guns, and lay Charleston in ashes with his shells, if it was

not surrendered. Dupont did not approve the plan; and early in July, Admiral John A. Dahlgren took his place. General Alfred H. Terry was sent with a force to James Island to mask Gillmore's intentions, when National troops were suddenly landed on Morris Island, and, with the aid of batteries on Folly Island, they drove the Confederates into Fort Wagner. Then Gillmore planted a line of batteries across Morris Island to confront that fort, which he found to be much stronger than he suspected. The Nationals assaulted it (July 11) and were repulsed, when a simultaneous bombardment by sea and land was determined on. This was done on the 18th of July, when a hundred great guns opened on the fort from the ships and the land-batteries. Meanwhile General Terry had been attacked by a force sent from Charleston, by Beauregard, to surprise him. But the vigilance of Terry never slept, and the Confederates were easily repulsed. The Nationals were then withdrawn from James Island and joined the main body of troops on Morris Island.

At sunset, on the 18th, Gillmore's forces moved in two columns, to attack Fort Wagner. A violent thunder-storm was raging. One column was led by General Strong, the other by Colonel H. L. Putnam, acting as brigadier. The struggle was brief but fearful. Both columns of the Nationals were repulsed, with great slaughter in their ranks, losing, in the aggregate, full fifteen hundred men. Strong and Putnam were mortally wounded; and Colonel Robert G. Shaw, who was at the head of the first regiment of colored troops organized in the free-labor States, was instantly killed. Because he commanded colored troops, Shaw was intensely hated by the Confederates; and they foolishly thought they had dishonored him when, as they proclaimed, they had buried his body "in a pit under a heap of his niggers."

Gillmore now abandoned the plan for capturing Fort Wagner by direct assault, and began a regular siege. With infinite labor a battery was constructed in a morass half-way between Morris and James islands, upon a platform of heavy timbers standing in the deep black mud. When a lieutenant of engineers was ordered to construct it he said, "It is impossible." His commanding officer replied, "There is no such word as impossible; call for what you need." The lieutenant, who was a wag, made a requisition on the quartermaster for "one hundred men eighteen feet high to wade in mud sixteen feet deep"; and he gravely inquired of the engineer whether these men might be spliced, if required. The lieutenant was arrested for contempt, but was soon released, and he built a redoubt with the services of men of ordinary height. Upon the redoubt was erected a Parrott gun, which they called "The Swamp Angel," that sent shells into

Charleston, five miles distant. One of these entered St. Michael's Church near the roof, and destroyed the table on the wall that contained the ten commandments, obliterating all of them excepting two—"Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery."

General Gillmore was ready for another attack on Forts Wagner and Sumter on the 17th of August, and on that day the guns of twelve batteries and of the fleet opened upon them. Before night the granite walls of Fort Sumter began to crumble and its cannons ceased to roar, under the pressure of Dahlgren's guns. The land troops pushed their parallels nearer and nearer Fort Wagner; while the fleet guns continually pounded away, day after day, until the 6th of September, when General Terry was prepared to storm the latter work. Then it was ascertained that the Confederates had evacuated it and fled from Morris Island. Gillmore took possession of Fort Wagner and turned its guns on Fort Sumter, battering it dreadfully and driving away (it was supposed) its garrison. But that sentinel which had so long guarded the gate to Charleston harbor, only slumbered; and when, on the night of the 8th, an armed force from the ships, in small boats, attempted to take possession of it, a vigilant garrison that had been lying quietly there, suddenly arose and repulsed the assailants with great loss to the latter. Finally, late in October (1863), Gillmore brought his heaviest guns to bear on Sumter, and reduced the once proud fort to a heap of ruins. Charleston now, as a commercial mart, had no existence. For months not a blockade-runner had entered its harbor, and its wealth and trade had departed. In a military point of view, as we have observed, it was absolutely of very little importance. Let us leave the Atlantic coast, and consider stirring events in the interior.

A thousand miles westward of the sea-coast the war was still going on, but more feebly than at first. The Confederates reoccupied all Texas in 1863, and carried on a sort of guerrilla warfare in Arkansas and Missouri during a part of that year. In the earlier months, Marmaduke was active with his mounted men. He rushed over the border from Arkansas into Missouri, and fell upon Springfield in January, but was repulsed with a loss of two hundred men. After some other reverses, he fell back; and at Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, he planned a formidable raid into Missouri, chiefly for the purpose of seizing National stores at Cape Girardeau, on the Mississippi. He invaded the State with eight thousand men, and was met at the Cape by General McNeil, on the 20th of April, who, after a sharp engagement, drove Marmaduke out of Missouri. Other bands of Confederates, under various leaders, roamed over the western borders of Arkansas, and, at one time, seriously menaced Fort Blunt, in the

Indian Territory. There was a sharp engagement at Honey Springs, in that Territory, on the 17th of July, between Nationals under General Blunt and Confederates in strong force led by General Cooper, in which the latter were defeated, and a part of them fled into northern Texas. Guerrilla bands in Blunt's rear did much mischief. One of them, led by a white savage named Quantrell, fell upon the defenceless town of Lawrence, in Kansas, on the 13th of August, and murdered one hundred and forty of the inhabitants. They also laid one hundred and eighty-five buildings in ashes, and escaped.



SACKING OF LAWRENCE.

Earlier than this, the strongly fortified post of Helena, on the Mississippi, in eastern Arkansas, became a coveted object; and on the 3d of July (1863) eight thousand Confederates, under General Price and others, ignorant of the strength of the post, attacked it. General Steele was in command there. After a sharp fight, the Confederates were repulsed with a loss of twenty per cent. of their number. That section of Arkansas was then abandoned by the Confederates; and on the 10th of August, Steele left Helena with twelve thousand troops and forty pieces of cannon, to attempt the capture of Little Rock. He pushed back Marmaduke, who confronted him; and early in September he moved on the State capital in two columns,

one on each side of the Arkansas River. The Confederates there, after setting fire to several steamboats, abandoned the place on the evening of the 10th (September) and fled to Arkadelphia, on the Wachita River. Meanwhile General Blunt had been trying to bring the Confederates and their Indian allies in western Arkansas to battle, but had failed. He took possession of Fort Smith (September 1) and garrisoned it; and on the 4th of October, while he was on his way from Kansas to that post with an escort of one hundred cavalry, they were attacked near Baxter's Springs, on the Cherokee Reservation, and scattered, by six hundred guerrillas led by the notorious Quantrell, who plundered and burnt the accompanying train of the Nationals. Blunt's forces were nearly all killed or disabled in the conflict. The wounded were murdered; and Blunt and only about a dozen followers barely escaped, with their lives, to Little Fort Blair. Some of Blunt's escort fled, at first, without firing a shot. Had they acted more bravely, they could have driven off their assailants in ten minutes, Blunt declared.

Finding their supplies nearly exhausted, the Confederates in that region made a raid into Missouri as far as Booneville, at the close of September; but they were driven back into Arkansas by Generals E. B. Brown and McNeil. No other military movements of much importance occurred in Missouri and Arkansas for some time after this, excepting an attack made by Marmaduke upon Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas River, on the 25th of October, 1863. The little garrison there was commanded by Colonel Powell Clayton, and these, with the assistance of two hundred negroes in making barricades, fought the assailants (who were two thousand strong, with twelve pieces of artillery) for several hours, and drove them away. Quiet prevailed for some time afterward.

When General Banks left Alexandria, on the Red River, and marched to the siege of Port Hudson, General Taylor, whom he had driven into the wilds of western Louisiana, returned, occupied that abandoned city and Opelousas, and garrisoned Fort de Russy. Then he swept vigorously over the country in the direction of the Mississippi River and New Orleans. With a part of his command he captured Brashear City on the 24th of June (1863), with an immense amount of public property, and made a thousand National troops prisoners. At about the same time another portion of the Confederates, under General Green, operating in the vicinity of Donaldsonville, on the Mississippi, were driven out of the district. Finally, at the middle of July, when Banks's troops were released, on the fall of Port Hudson, they expelled Taylor and his forces from the country eastward of the Atchafalaya. This was the last struggle of Taylor's forces to gain a foothold on the Mississippi.

General Banks now turned his thoughts to aggressive movements. General Grant visited him at New Orleans early in September, and was in that city when he was summoned to Chattanooga. There it was determined that Banks should make an attempt to recover Texas; and he speedily sent four thousand troops under General Franklin, accompanied by four gun-boats commanded by Lieutenant Crocker, to seize the Confederate post at Sabine Pass, on the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas. Owing to a premature attack by the gun-boats, the expedition was a disastrous failure. Then Banks concentrated his land forces on the Atchafalaya, for the purpose of penetrating Texas from the east by way of Shreveport, on the Red River; but this design was abandoned for a time, and it was concluded to attempt to seize and hold the coast harbor of that Commonwealth. To mask this movement, General C. C. Washburne, with a considerable body of troops, moved across Louisiana toward Alexandria, when about six thousand other Nationals under General Dana, with some war-vessels, sailed for the Rio Grande. The troops landed, and drove Confederate cavalry up that river. The Nationals pressed on; and on the 6th of November encamped at Brownsville, opposite Matamoras. At the close of the year, the National troops occupied all the strong positions on the Texan coast excepting Galveston Island and a formidable work near the mouth of the Brazos; and the Confederates had abandoned all Texas west of the Colorado River. Meanwhile N. B. Forrest, who had become a noted guerrilla chief, had broken into western Tennessee, from Mississippi, with four thousand Confederate soldiers, and making Jackson, in the first-mentioned State, his headquarters (December, 1863), had sent out foraging parties in various directions. General Hurlburt, at Memphis, tried to catch him, but failed.

There were many hopeful signs of success for the defenders of the life of the Republic at the opening of the third year of the Civil War, 1864. The debt of the National Government was then more than \$1,000,000,000; but the public credit never stood higher. The loyal people stood by the Government, and trusted it with a fidelity and faith that was truly sublime. At the same time the Confederate debt was at least \$1,000,000,000, with a prospective increase during the year to double that amount. The Confederate government had contracted loans abroad to the amount almost of \$15,000,000, of which sum the members of the *Southern Independence Association* in England (composed chiefly of the British aristocracy) loaned a large share and lost it, the security offered for the Confederate bonds being cotton to be forwarded, and which was never delivered. The producers of the Confederacy, better informed than their English sympathizers, were

unwilling to trust the promise of their government and withheld supplies, for they preconceived the worthlessness of the bonds and paper currency of the Confederates. The people there were no longer willing to volunteer for the military service; and Davis and his associates at Richmond, in their desperation, proceeded to the exercise of a despotic act that has no parallel in the history of civilized nations. By the passage of a law they declared that *every white man in the Confederacy, liable to bear arms, to be in the military service*; and that, upon his *failure to report for duty at a military station within a certain time, he was liable to the penalty of death as a deserter!* They devised schemes of retaliation; also cruel measures toward the colored troops in the National service and their white commanders were proposed. They refused to regard captive negro troops as prisoners of war; and by threats of dire vengeance, they tried to deter the colored men from enlisting in the National service.

While the authorities at Richmond were preparing to carry out these measures, they received a despatch from Lord John Russell, the British Foreign Secretary, which deprived them of the last prop of hope for the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States from any foreign State excepting that of the Roman pontiff. That despatch gave them notice that no more vessels should be fitted out in Great Britain (nor tolerated in British waters) for depredating on the commerce of the United States by persons employed by the "so-called Confederate States." The last expression, which absolutely ignored the very existence of the "Confederate States" was very significant, and also very offensive to Davis and his associates. The latter replied sharply, protesting against the "studied insult;" and thenceforward the Confederates regarded the British government as their enemy. That government, perceiving the weakness of the Confederacy which it had tried to foster, stood firm, and so did our own. Regardless of the menaces of the Confederate leaders, the President determined to defend the colored troops against the vengeance of their late masters, and to prosecute the war with greater vigor. "The signs," he said, "look better." More than fifty thousand square miles of territory had already been recovered from the Confederates. There were about eight hundred thousand National troops in the field, while the Confederates had only about half that number; and the former were disposed to act on the offensive, while the latter were generally standing on the defensive.

Early in 1864, Congress created the office of lieutenant-general. The President nominated Ulysses S. Grant to fill it, and the Senate confirmed the nomination. Grant was made general-in-chief of the armies of the

Republic, and he fixed his headquarters with that of the *Army of the Potomac*. He believed that mercy required that war should be made sharp and decisive, so as to end it speedily, and he acted accordingly. He believed his government to be right and its assailants wrong; and with all the zeal born of positive convictions, he prepared for the campaign of 1864. Two grand expeditions were planned—one for the capture of Richmond, the other for the seizure of the great railroad centre, Atlanta, in Georgia. To the *Army of the Potomac*, commanded by General Meade, was assigned the task of taking Richmond; and to General Sherman was given the command of the forces destined for Atlanta. Meanwhile important events had occurred in the Valley of the Mississippi.

When General Sherman was called to Chattanooga, he left General J. B. McPherson in command at Vicksburg; but soon after Bragg was driven southward from Chattanooga, Sherman suddenly reappeared in Mississippi; and at the head of twenty thousand troops, he made a most destructive raid (February, 1864) from Jackson to the intersection of important railways at Meridian, in that State. His object was to inflict as much injury as possible upon the Confederate cause and its physical strength. Like Grant, he believed in the righteousness and efficacy of making war terrible. The line of his march from Jackson, eastward, presented a black path of desolation. No public property of the Confederates was spared. The station-houses and the rolling stock of the railway were burned. The track was torn up, and the rails, heated by the burning ties cast into heaps, were twisted and ruined; and were often, by bending them, while red-hot, around a sapling, converted into what the men called "Jeff. Davis's neckties." General Sherman intended to push on to Montgomery, Alabama, and then, if circumstances appeared favorable, to go southward and attack Mobile.

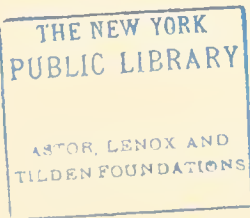
At Meridian, General Sherman waited for General W. S. Smith to join him with a considerable force of cavalry; but that officer was held back by Forrest and others. After waiting in vain for a week, Sherman laid Meridian in ashes and returned to Vicksburg with four hundred prisoners and five thousand liberated slaves. This raid spread great alarm over the Confederacy; for General (Bishop) Polk, in command of the insurgents in that region, made but a feeble resistance. General Joseph E. Johnston, in command of Bragg's army in northern Georgia, had sent troops to reinforce Polk; but was compelled to recall them when his own army was menaced by a National force under General Palmer, which had been sent down from Chattanooga. Johnston fought Palmer between Ringgold and Dalton (February, 1864), and drove him back to Chattanooga.



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SEDGWICK

Killed at Spottsylvania May 9, 1864



Some weeks later, General Forrest, having an enlarged command, made a rapid raid through Tennessee and Kentucky; and on the 13th of April he laid siege to Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, above Memphis, which was garrisoned chiefly by colored troops. He assailed it successfully, with a cry of "No quarter"; and when the garrison threw down their arms and



GENERAL SHERMAN.

begged for mercy, they were nearly all slaughtered. "Forrest's motto," said Major Charles W. Gibson, of his command, to the writer, was, "War means fight, and fight means kill—we want but few prisoners." An unsuccessful attempt was made to intercept him in his retreat from the scene of the massacre. Troops sent out from Memphis, a few weeks later, by General Smith, to hunt him up and beat him, in Mississippi, were defeated in a severe battle with him on the 10th of June, at Gun Town, on the Mobile and Ohio Railway, and were driven back with great loss. Twelve

thousand men, led by General A. J. Smith, went out for the same purpose, and fought and defeated Forrest near Tupelo on the 14th of June, and then retreated to Memphis; and not long afterward, when Smith was in Mississippi with ten thousand men, the bold raider, at the head of three thousand cavalry, flanked him, dashed into Memphis in broad daylight, in search of National officers, and escaped into Mississippi.

At the beginning of 1864, another attempt was made to recover Texas, by an invasion by way of the Red River and Shreveport. General Banks was ordered to organize an expedition for the purpose, and General Sherman was directed to send troops to aid him. Admiral Porter was also directed to place a fleet of gunboats on the Red River to assist in the enterprise; and General Steele, at Little Rock, Arkansas, was ordered to co-operate with the expedition. Banks's column, led by General Franklin, moved from Brashear City by way of Opelousas, and reached Alexandria on the 26th of March. The detachment from Sherman's army, led by General A. J. Smith, had already gone up the Red River in transports, captured Fort de Russy, and taken possession of Alexandria on the 16th of March, followed by Porter's fleet of gunboats.

Banks moved forward with his whole force; and early in April the army was at Natchitoches, eighty miles further up the river, at which point Porter's vessels arrived, after encountering much difficulty in passing the rapids at Alexandria on account of low water. His larger gunboats could proceed no further than Grand Ecore. Banks pushed on toward Shreveport, and Porter's lighter vessels went up the river with a body of troops under E. Kilby Smith. The Confederates had been gathering force under Generals Taylor, Price and Green, and were driven before the Nationals until they reached Sabine Cross Roads, where they made a stand on the 8th of April. A sharp battle ensued between them and the advance of Banks's army. There was a hard struggle for the mastery. Franklin's troops came to the aid of the latter late in the afternoon; but their antagonists fought so well and desperately that the whole body of the Nationals were routed, with heavy loss, and fled in some confusion. The fugitives were received three miles from the battle-field, at a place called Pleasant Grove, by the division of General Emory; and there another severe engagement took place, in which the Nationals were victorious. The latter fell back, however, fifteen miles, pursued by the Confederates; and the next day (April 9) another heavy battle was fought at Pleasant Hill, which resulted in a victory for Banks. That officer now wished to renew the march for Texas; but his associates counselled a still further retreat to the Red River, at Grand Ecore, where Porter's larger vessels lay. There they were joined by the

troops under E. Kilby Smith, that went up the river in transports, and had some sharp fighting.

The river was still falling. Food and water for man and beast, in that region, could not be procured excepting with great difficulty, and it was determined to continue the retreat to Alexandria. After much difficulty the fleet passed the bar at Grand Ecore on the 17th of April. The army moved from that point on the 21st, and entered Alexandria on the 27th, after an encounter with the Confederates at the passage of the Cane River. So many difficulties lay before the National army, that the expedition against Shreveport was abandoned, and the land and naval forces prepared to return to the Mississippi River.

A serious impediment to such a movement now presented itself. The water in the rapids of the Red River at Alexandria was so shallow that the fleet could not repass them. General Hunter had just appeared at Alexandria with orders to close the Red River campaign as speedily as possible, for the troops from General Sherman were wanted eastward of the Mississippi. The call was urgent. To get the fleet below the rapids was now the first work to be done. It was proposed to dam the river above the rapids, and send the vessels over the rocks upon the bosom of a flood that might be set free through sluices. Porter did not believe in the feasibility of such a project. Banks did, and set Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Bailey, of a Michigan regiment, to attempt it. By skill and industry the work was accomplished; and every gun-boat, great and small, reached the deep water below the rapids in safety, the crowd of spectators on the shores greeting the achievement with loud huzzas. The whole expedition now pushed toward the Mississippi River, where Porter resumed the service of patrolling that stream. General E. R. S. Canby took command of Banks's forces on the Atchafalaya; and General Smith, with his detachment, returned to Mississippi. A strong confronting force of Confederates had kept Steele from co-operating with the expedition. He had moved from Little Rock with eight thousand men, pushed back the Confederates, and on the 15th of April captured the important post of Camden on the Wachita River; but after a severe battle at Jenkinson's Ferry, on the Sabine River, Steele abandoned Camden and returned to Little Rock. So ended this disastrous campaign.

We have observed that colored troops were employed as soldiers in the National service, and that the Confederates were disposed to treat them and their white leaders with cruelty. Let us take a hasty glance at the history of their employment in the army.

When the President called for troops, in April, 1861, to put down the

rising insurrection, some colored men in the city of New York hired a room and began to drill in military tactics. The sympathizers with the insurgents threatened them with violence; and the Superintendent of Police felt compelled, in order to secure the public peace, to order them to cease drilling. So they waited until they were called for.

More than a year afterward, General Hunter, in command of the Department of the South, ordered the organization of negro regiments in his department. This measure raised a tempest of indignation in the National Congress among the sympathizers with the insurgents. On motion of Wickliffe of Kentucky, the Secretary of War was asked whether Hunter had organized a regiment of fugitive slaves, and whether the Government had authorized the act. Hunter was allowed to make explicit answers himself. To the first question he replied: "No regiment of 'fugitive slaves' has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels—men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the National flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift for themselves as best they can." A few weeks later, Secretary Stanton, by special order, directed General Rufus Saxton, military governor of the sea-coast islands, to "arm, uniform, equip and receive into the service of the United States, such number of volunteers of African descent, not exceeding five thousand," as would be useful.

General G. W. Phelps, in command above New Orleans, in the summer of 1862, finding crowds of colored people flocking to his camp, asked permission of General Butler to arm and equip negro regiments. Butler had no authority to do so. He recommended Phelps to employ them in servile work on fortifications. Phelps replied: "I am not willing to become the mere slave-driver you propose, having no qualifications that way," and throwing up his commission, returned to Vermont. Very soon afterward Butler called for negro volunteers from the free colored men in New Orleans, and full regiments were formed.

Another year passed by, and yet very few of the thousands of colored men made free by the proclamation of emancipation were found in arms. There was a universal prejudice against them; but as the war went on that prejudice, like others, gave way, and in the summer of 1863 the President was authorized by Congress to accept colored volunteers. From that time such troops were freely enlisted wherever the Government authority prevailed; and nearly two hundred thousand of them fought in the ranks for the preservation of the Republic, and their own freedom. Their brethren, who were yet in bondage, were then freely used by the Confederates, in the military service; not, however, with arms in their hands. The Confederates

never armed them. It might have been a fatal experiment. They were organized under white leaders, and were "armed and equipped" with axes, shovels, spades, pick-axes, and blankets.

The natural docility of the negro made him an excellent man to discipline for a soldier; and his faithfulness and courage were never surpassed, in strength and endurance, by the white man's faithfulness and courage. Their conduct throughout the war was most remarkable. Their numbers, in some of the revolted States, were nearly equal to those of the white people; and in the absence of the men of the latter race, in the army, the whole region which they occupied was absolutely at their mercy. There were, at first, apprehensions that the negroes, perceiving their opportunity and advantage, would rise in insurrection and assert their right to freedom. On the contrary, they worked faithfully and patiently for their masters, on the plantations, and there is no record of an attempt, by individuals or in numbers, of that vast servile population, to gain their liberty. Not a woman or child was injured by their slaves; on the contrary, they were the trusted protectors from violence, of the wives and children of the Confederate soldiers. They had faith that God would, in his own good time, deliver them from bondage; and in that faith they patiently waited and suffered. Because of their faithfulness and forbearance, when they might have filled the land with horror, the colored population of the South deserve the everlasting gratitude and good-will of the white people there, whose families they protected and by their labor supplied with food and clothing during the terrible Civil War. History furnishes no parallel to the noble conduct of the negroes toward those who were making war for the purpose of perpetuating the slavery of their race.



CHAPTER CXXIX.

Another Invasion of Missouri and Its Results—Morgan in East Tennessee—Cavalry Operations against Richmond—Campaign of the Army of the Potomac Begun—Battles in the Wilderness and near Spottsylvania Court-House—Sheridan's Raid—Operations between Petersburg and Richmond—Kautz's Raid—Struggles of Grant and Lee—Battle at Cool Arbor—The Nationals Cross the James and Invest Petersburg—Confederate Invasion of Maryland—Salvation of Washington—A Plundering Raid to Chambersburg—Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley—His Brilliant Campaign—Richmond Threatened—Siege of Petersburg—Capture of Fort Harrison—Medal to Colored Troops—Losses—Sherman's Campaign in Georgia.

THE Confederates were emboldened by the failure of the Red River expedition and the expulsion of Steele from the region below the Arkansas River; and raiding bands awed the Unionists into silence and inactivity. This state of things gave Price an opportunity early in the autumn to invade Missouri again, this time chiefly with a political object in view. Secret societies, in sympathy with the Knights of the Golden Circle, had been formed in Missouri and neighboring Southern States, whose object was to give aid to the Confederate cause and assist in the election of General McClellan (who had been nominated by the Democratic party) to the office of President of the United States. Price had been promised twenty thousand recruits, if he should enter Missouri with a respectable military force. He and General Shelby went over the Missouri border late in September (1864), with twenty thousand followers, and pushed on to Pilot Knob, half-way to St. Louis. But the promised recruits did not appear. The vigilant Rosecrans, in command of the Department of the Missouri, had discovered the plans of the disloyalists, and by some arrests had so frightened them that they prudently remained in concealment. Price was sorely disappointed; and he soon perceived that a web of great peril was gathering around him. At Pilot Knob, General Ewing, with a brigade of National troops, struck him an astounding blow. Soon afterward, these, with other troops under Generals A. J. Smith and Mower, sent Price flying westward toward Kansas, closely pursued. The exciting chase was enlivened by severe skirmishes; and late in November, Price was a fugitive in western Arkansas, with a broken and dispirited army. This was the last invasion of Missouri.

When Longstreet retired from Knoxville, he lingered awhile between there and the Virginia border; but he finally went to the aid of Lee's menaced army. Morgan, the guerrilla chief, remained in East Tennessee until the close of the following May (1864), when he went over the mountains and raided through the richest portions of Kentucky. General Burbridge went after him, and soon drove him and his shattered columns back into East Tennessee. He was surprised at Greenville, where he was shot



JOHN MORGAN.

dead in a vineyard while attempting to escape. Soon afterward the region between Knoxville and the Virginia line became the theatre of some stirring minor events while General Breckenridge was in command of the Confederates there.

Let us now resume the consideration of the military movements against Richmond and Atlanta.

The campaign of the *Army of the Potomac* under General Meade, against the Army of Northern Virginia led by General Lee, in the spring of 1864, was preceded by some movements for the capture of Richmond and the

liberation of Union soldiers confined in Libby Prison, and on Belle Isle in the James River at that city. Treachery defeated the purpose for which, in February, General B. F. Butler, in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, sent fifteen hundred troops, foot and horse, under General Wistar, against Richmond. General Kilpatrick, with five thousand of his cavalry, came from the *Army of the Potomac* to co-operate with him. They swept within the outer lines of the defences of Richmond, on the first of March; and Colonel Dahlgren, son of the admiral of that name, with another portion of that cavalry, was repulsed the next day, and was killed. A few days later, General Custer, with his horsemen, threatened Lee's communications in the direction of the Shenandoah Valley. The movements of Wistar were made fruitless, owing to a deserter, who gave the Confederates warning of it, and they were prepared to meet it.

The grand movement of the *Army of the Potomac* began in May. When it crossed the Rapid Anné and tried to go swiftly by Lee's flank under cover of the dense woods of the Wilderness, and plant itself between the Confederate army and Richmond, the vigilant Lee discovered the movement and boldly attacked the Nationals. The two armies numbered, in the aggregate, about two hundred thousand men; and that mighty host fought desperately for almost two days (May 5th and 6th) on one of the most remarkable battle-fields ever known. The ground was covered with a thick growth of pines, cedars, and shrub-oaks, with tangled underbrush and vines, wherein regular military movements were impossible. Cavalry could not contend; and no single vision could discern a thousand men at one time. In that mysterious land the brave General Wadsworth of the Genesee Valley was killed, and the slaughter of troops was fearful. Both armies were badly shattered; and there was no victory for either. The Confederates withdrew to their intrenchments; and the Nationals, led by General Warren, hastened to the open country near Spottsylvania Court-House.

Lieutenant-General Grant was the guiding-spirit in the National army. He was determined to flank Lee; but when his troops emerged from the Wilderness, he found the Confederates in heavy force and rapidly gathering athwart his path. Arrangements were immediately made for another battle, during which the gallant General Sedgwick, leader of the Sixth corps, was killed by a Confederate sharp-shooter. Both armies were cautious in their movements; and finally, on the morning of the 10th (May, 1864), when all was in readiness, a furious conflict began and raged all day with dreadful losses on each side. On the following morning, General Grant sent to the President the famous despatch, in which he said: "*I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.*"



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJ.-GEN. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN MAJ.-GEN. WESLEY MERRITT MAJ.-GEN. GEORGE A. CUSTER
BRIG.-GEN. J. I. GREGG BRIG.-GEN. THOMAS C. DERIN

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ASTOR LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

On the 12th, another sanguinary battle was opened. General Hancock, after the most gallant struggle, broke through the Confederate line and gained a great advantage; but the fierce conflict continued until twilight, and did not entirely cease until midnight, when Lee suddenly withdrew behind a second line of intrenchments, and appeared as strong as ever. Yet Grant, stubborn and bold, was not disheartened. He sent cheering despatches to the government; and pressing forward, fought another desperate battle on the Ny, not far from Spottsylvania Court-House. Lee was repulsed. Grant's flanking movement was temporarily checked, but he speedily resumed it. The losses on both sides, during about a fortnight, had been fearful. That of the *Army of the Potomac* was about forty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and that of the Army of Northern Virginia was about thirty thousand.

In the meantime, General Sheridan had been raiding in Lee's rear with a greater part of the National cavalry. Like Kilpatrick, he swept down into the Confederate outworks at Richmond, but with more successful results, for he destroyed the railway communication between Lee's army and that city. At the same time there was a co-operating force in the Shenandoah Valley, first under General Sigel and then under General Hunter; but they did not accomplish much of importance besides destroying a vast amount of property. There was another co-operating force below Richmond, commanded by General Butler. He had been joined by Gillmore's troops, which had been ordered up from Charleston; and with about twenty-five thousand men he went up the James River in armed transports, seized City Point at the mouth of the Appomattox River, and took possession of the Peninsula of Bermuda Hundred. He cast up a line of intrenchments across it from the Appomattox to the James and destroyed the railway between Petersburg and Richmond, so cutting off direct communication between the Confederate capital and the South. At the same time General A. V. Kautz went up from Suffolk with three thousand cavalry, to destroy the railways south and west from Petersburg; but before he struck them, Beauregard, who had been called from Charleston, had filled that city with defenders. The withdrawal of Gillmore's troops relieved Charleston of immediate danger; and when Butler went up the James, Beauregard was summoned to Richmond. At Petersburg he received hourly reinforcements, and some of them he massed in front of Butler's forces, along the line of the railway. Finally, on the morning of the 16th of May, while a dense fog brooded over the country, he attempted to turn Butler's right flank. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Nationals had about four thousand men engaged, and the Confederates about three thousand. It ended by the

retirement of Butler's forces within their intrenchments. For several days afterward there was considerable skirmishing in front of Butler's lines, when he received orders to send nearly two-thirds of his effective men to the north side of the James River to assist the army contending with Lee in the vicinity of the Chickahominy. Butler complied with the requisition, which deprived him of all power to make further offensive movements. "The necessities of the Army of the Potomac," he said, "have bottled me up at Bermuda Hundred."

While General Butler's main army was making movements toward Richmond, Kautz was out upon another raid on the railways leading to that city from the south and southwest. He left Bermuda Hundred on the 12th of May, with two mounted brigades; passed near Fort Darling, on Drewry's Bluff, and sweeping on an arc of a circle by Chesterfield Court-House, struck the Richmond and Danville Railway eleven miles west of the Confederate capital. After again striking it at other points, he swept around eastward, divided his forces, and with a part of them crossed to the Southside Railway, while another portion proceeded to the junction of the Danville and Southside roads. Then he went eastward with his whole force, striking and destroying the Weldon Railway far toward the North Carolina line, and then made his way back to City Point. In this raid Kautz had seriously damaged the railroads that lay in his track, and took to City Point one hundred and fifty prisoners.

After the struggles near Spottsylvania Court-House, Grant moved steadily on toward Richmond, while Lee moved on a parallel line to thwart his antagonist's plans. At the passage of the North Anné, they fought a severe battle on the 23d of May. There, in close communication with the Central Virginia Railway, Lee had evidently determined to make a stand. Over that railway, Breckenridge, who had beaten Sigel in the Shenandoah Valley, was hastening to reinforce Lee, and Grant resolved to dislodge his antagonist before aid should reach him. This was accomplished, when Lee withdrew to a stronger position where Grant did not attack him. The *Army of the Potomac* pressed steadily forward, with Sheridan's cavalry in the advance, and on the 28th of May, the entire force of the Nationals were south of the Pamunkey River, with an uninterrupted communication with their new base of supplies at the ruins of the "White House" near the mouth of that stream. Lee had moved by a shorter road, and occupied a strong position on the Chickahominy River, which commanded a turnpike and two railways that led to Richmond.

Across the Chickahominy River was the only direct pathway to the Confederate capital, and to pursue it, Lee must be dislodged. The cavalry



SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

of both armies had sharp engagements at the close of May, while reconnoissances were going on; when Grant, believing he could not successfully assail his antagonist in his strong position, began another flanking movement with the intention of crossing the Chickahominy near Cool Arbor, where Sheridan had gained an advantageous foothold. There the army was reinforced by ten thousand men sent from Bermuda Hundred, led by General W. F. Smith; and there, from the 1st to the 3d of June (1864),



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

there was a fearful struggle on the old battle-ground of Lee and McClellan two years before. On the 3d, one of the most sanguinary battles of the war was fought. It was brief, but terrible. Within the space of twenty minutes after the first shot was fired, ten thousand Union soldiers were killed or wounded. The battle ended at one o'clock in the afternoon, the Nationals holding their ground. They moved gradually to the left, and on the 7th of June that wing touched the Chickahominy River. Then Sheridan was sent to destroy the railways on Lee's left, which he did as far as Gordonsville.

General Grant now determined to transfer his army to the south side of the James River, cut off the chief sources of supply of men and provisions

for Lee's army from the South, and attempt the capture of Richmond from that direction. At near the middle of June the whole army crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved to the James by way of Charles City Court-House. They crossed that river in boats and on pontoon bridges; and on the 16th of June, when the entire army was over, General Grant made his headquarters at City Point. A portion of the *Army of the James*, under General Butler, had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Petersburg before Lee should send down troops to reinforce Beauregard, who had cast up strong lines of intrenchments around that city. These works were confronted by the *Army of the Potomac* on the evening of the 16th of June; and from that time until the 30th of July, there was much severe fighting, with great loss of life, in unsuccessful attempts of the Union troops to take the place by storm and destroy railway communications with it.

There was a brief lull in the operations against Petersburg and Richmond, at about the beginning of July. During that time, General Early, with about fifteen thousand Confederate troops, swept down the Shenandoah Valley and across the Potomac at Williamsport, driving General Sigel before him, and penetrating Maryland to Hagerstown and Frederick. This formidable raid was designed to draw a large body of troops from Grant to the defence of the National Capital; also for plunder. When Grant heard of it, he sent General Wright, with the Sixth corps, to protect Washington. General Lewis Wallace, then in command of the Middle Department, with his headquarters at Baltimore, proceeded from that city, with a few troops hastily collected, to confront the invaders, and on the 9th of July he met and fought Early's host on the Monocacy River not far from Frederick. Wallace had been joined by a portion of Ricketts's brigade from the advance of the Sixth corps. This handful of warriors, after fighting overwhelming numbers eight hours, were defeated, with heavy loss, when Early pushed on toward Washington. But the vanquished troops had really won a victory for their country, for they detained the invaders long enough to allow the Sixth and Nineteenth corps to reach and secure the National Capital. When General Early perceived this, he pushed across the Potomac with a large amount of plunder, closely pursued by General Wright to the Shenandoah Valley, through Snicker's Gap, where, after a sharp conflict on the 19th (July), the invaders retreated up the Valley and the pursuers returned to Washington.

It was soon discovered that Early had not gone to join Lee, as was suspected, but remained in the Valley with all his force. Some of his troops were worsted in a fight with Nationals under General Averill, near Win-

chester, on the 20th; and they soon afterward pushed General Crook, in command of the *Army of Western Virginia*, back toward the Potomac, with considerable loss. Then Early sent General McCausland, Bradley Johnson and other officers, with three thousand followers, all mounted, on a plundering tour in Maryland and Pennsylvania. They swept, in excentric lines, over the country, thereby distracting the armed defenders of it; and on the 30th of July entered the defenceless and almost deserted village of Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania, where they demanded a tribute of \$200,000 in gold, or \$500,000 in paper currency, to insure the town from destruction. It was impossible to give the tribute, and two-thirds of the village was laid in ashes. No time was given for the removal of the infirm, the sick, or the women and children. The incendiaries did not remain long enough to see the ruin they had initiated; for General Averill, who was ten miles distant, moved against them, and chased them back into Virginia. This raid caused the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, commanded respectively by Generals Wright and Emory, to be sent into the Shenandoah Valley, where the National forces, now thirty thousand strong, were placed under the chief command of General Sheridan, early in August.

At the middle of September, General Grant visited Sheridan, at Charlestown. He found him ready for action against Early. Satisfied that his plan of operations was feasible, the lieutenant-general said to the energetic leader, "Go in." In these two words the chief expressed his confidence in Sheridan's judgment and skill. He did "go in;" and very soon he sent Early "whirling up the Valley," as he expressed it. He fought and conquered him at Winchester on the 19th of September (1864), when the Confederates fell back to the strong position of Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg. Sheridan drove them from there on the 22d, at the end of a sharp battle, in which Early lost heavily, and was chased to Port Republic, near which the pursuers burned his wagon-trains. The National cavalry followed him to Staunton, where the Confederates took refuge in the ranges of the Blue Ridge. Sheridan's forces fell back to a strong position behind Cedar Creek, and that leader departed for Washington city with the belief that the Valley was purged of Confederates in arms. It was a mistake. A month later, Early, reinforced, fell with crushing weight upon the Nationals at Cedar Creek, commanded by General Wright, and, for a time, their destruction seemed inevitable. They fell back to Middletown and beyond, where they turned upon the pursuers, and a desperate battle ensued.

When the battle commenced, Sheridan was in Winchester on his way to the army. The sound of conflict fell upon his ear, and, mounting his powerful black horse, he pushed on toward Cedar Creek. Presently he met

the van of fugitives hurrying from the lost battle-field, at that stream, who told him a piteous tale of disaster. Sheridan ordered the retreating artillery to be parked on each side of the turnpike, and telling his escort to follow, he dashed forward, his horse on a swinging gallop, and at that pace he rode nearly twelve miles to the scene of conflict. The fugitives became thicker and thicker every moment. But Sheridan did not stop to chide nor coax; but as his powerful black steed thundered over that magnificent stone road



SHERIDAN'S RIDE FROM WINCHESTER.

which traverses the Shenandoah Valley, he waved his hat and shouted to the tumultuous crowds: "Face the other way, boys; face the other way! We are going back to our camp to lick them out of their boots!" The man and the act were marvellously magnetic in their effects. The tide of disordered troops was instantly turned, and flowed swiftly in the wake of their young commander. As he dashed into the lines, and rode along the front of forming regiments, he gave to each most stirring words of cheer and encouragement, and declared in substance, "We'll have all those camps and cannon back again." The men believed him, and showing their faith by their works, secured a speedy fulfilment of the prophecy. General Wright had already brought order out of confusion. A very severe struggle

ensued, and very soon Early was again sent "whirling" up the Valley. The National cavalry of Emory's corps, falling upon both flanks, caused the Confederates to flee in hot haste up the Valley pike, in great disorder, to Fisher's Hill, leaving the highway strewn with abandoned hindrances to flight. The road was clogged with masses of men, wagons, cannon and caissons, in utter confusion, and these were left behind. This short but brilliant campaign of Sheridan, which nearly annihilated Early's force, ended hostilities in the Shenandoah Valley.

Let us now turn again toward Petersburg and Richmond, for a moment.

General Butler had thrown a pontoon-bridge across the James River at Deep Bottom, within ten miles of Richmond, over which troops passed to the north side of that stream and menaced the Confederate capital. Lee was alarmed by the movement and withdrew a large force from Petersburg to defend Richmond, believing the latter city would be immediately attacked; and there it was that General Grant made the unsuccessful attempts just mentioned, to penetrate the Confederate lines before Petersburg. He had mined under one of the principal forts, and it was blown up on the morning of the 30th of July, with terrible effect. In the place of the fortification was left a crater of loose earth two hundred feet in length, full fifty feet in width, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. The fort, its guns and other munitions of war, with three hundred men, had been thrown high in air, and annihilated. Then the great guns of the Nationals opened a heavy cannonade upon the remainder of the works, with precision and fearful effect, all along the lines; but owing partly to the slowness of motion of a portion of the assaulting force, the result was a most disastrous failure on the part of the assailants.

A fortnight later Grant sent another expedition to the north side of the James, at Deep Bottom, composed of the divisions of Birney and Hancock, with cavalry led by General Gregg. They had sharp engagements with the Confederates on the 13th, 16th and 18th of August, in which the Nationals lost about five thousand men without gaining any special advantage excepting the incidental one of giving assistance to troops sent to seize the Weldon railway, south of Petersburg. This General Warren effected on the 18th of August. Three days afterward he repulsed a Confederate force who attempted to repossess the portion of the road held by the Unionists; and on the same day General Hancock, who had returned from the north side of the James, struck the Weldon road at Reams's Station, and destroyed the track for some distance. The Nationals were finally driven from the road with considerable loss.

For little more than a month after this, there was comparative quiet in

the vicinity of Petersburg and Richmond. The National troops were moved simultaneously toward each city. General Butler, with the Tenth Army Corps under General Birney, and the Eighteenth corps under General Ord, moved upon Fort Harrison, on the north side of the James, and captured it on the 29th of September. These troops charged upon another fort near by, and were repulsed with heavy loss. Among the slain was General Burnham. General Ord was severely wounded. The captured Fort Harrison was named Fort Burnham in honor of the slain general. In these assaults the gallantry of the colored troops was so conspicuous, that General Butler presented to each of the more meritorious ones a silver medal, which bore a device commemorative of their valor.

In the meantime, General Meade had sent General Warren with two divisions of his corps, General Parke with two divisions of the Ninth corps, and General Gregg with his cavalry, to attempt the extension of the National left on the Weldon road. The chief object of the movement was to mask the more important operations of Butler at that time. But it resulted in severe fighting on the first and second days of October (1864), with varying fortunes for both parties.

Now there was another pause but not a settled rest for about a month, when the greater portion of the *Army of the Potomac* was massed on the Confederate right, south of the James; and on the 27th of October, they assailed Lee's works on Hatcher's Run, westward of the Weldon road. A severe struggle ensued. The Nationals were repulsed, and on the 29th they withdrew to their intrenchments in front of Petersburg. Very little of importance was done by the *Army of the Potomac* after that, until the opening of the campaign in the spring of 1865, excepting the extension of their line to Hatcher's Run. The losses of that army had been fearful during six months, from the beginning of May until November, 1864. The aggregate number in killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, was over *eighty-eight thousand* men, of whom nearly *ten thousand* were killed in battle. Add to these the losses in the *Army of the James* during the same time, and the sum would be full *one hundred thousand men*.

The command of the troops engaged in the campaign against Atlanta was, as we have observed, entrusted to General Wm. T. Sherman, who had succeeded General Grant in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi. With a force composed of the *Army of the Cumberland* led by General George H. Thomas, the *Army of the Tennessee* led by General J. B. McPherson, and the *Army of the Ohio* commanded by General J. M. Schofield, Sherman moved southward from the vicinity of Chattanooga on the 6th of May, 1864. The aggregate number of his soldiers was about one

hundred thousand men. These were confronted by about fifty-five thousand men, led by General Joseph E. Johnston, and arranged in three corps commanded respectively by Generals Hardee, Hood, and Polk. This army then lay at Dalton, at the parting of the ways, one leading into East Tennessee, and the other into West Tennessee. To strike that position in front was impracticable, or, at least, perilous, for the Confederates were very strongly posted; and Sherman began there a series of successful flank movements. When he menaced the flanks of the Confederates at Dalton by seeking a passage through Snake Hill Gap, on the left, the insurgents fell back to a point near Resaca Station at the Oostenaula River, on the line of the railway between Chattanooga and Atlanta. At that place a sharp battle occurred on the 15th of May, when the Confederates were driven across the Oostenaula. Johnston fired the bridge that spanned that stream, cutting off direct pursuit immediately. Generals Thomas, Hooker, McPherson, Schofield, and other noted leaders were engaged in the fight; and as soon as a temporary bridge was constructed, the next morning, Thomas pursued Hardee (who covered the retreat) directly, while McPherson and Schofield kept on their flanks. The Confederates fled from post to post, burning bridges behind them, until they reached a mountainous region covering the Allatoona Pass. There Johnston halted, with the Etowah River between his troops and the National forces; and then both armies took a brief rest.

These flanking movements had resulted so favorably to the Nationals, that Sherman resolved to pursue them. He determined to flank Johnston out of his strong position at Allatoona Pass, by concentrating his forces at Dallas, westward of him. In attempting to thwart this movement, the Confederates brought on an engagement near Dallas, on the 25th of May. The battle was indecisive, and was followed by a very stormy night, during which Johnston's men used the pickaxe and spade so industriously that by morning Sherman found his antagonist strongly intrenched, with lines extending from Dallas to Marietta. Between these towns was a broken, wooded country, and in that region there was much severe fighting for several days. At length Johnston was compelled to evacuate Allatoona Pass (June 1, 1864), when it was garrisoned by Sherman and made his second base of supplies, the first being at Chattanooga. The burned bridges were rebuilt and well guarded, and full possession of the railway in his rear was obtained by Sherman. At Allatoona he was reinforced on the 8th by troops under General Frank Blair, which made his number of effective men nearly what it was when he moved from Chattanooga.



CHAPTER CXXX.

The Armies at Marietta—Death of Bishop Polk—Hood in Command—Battles around Atlanta—Thomas Sent to Nashville—Hood Chased into Alabama—Sherman's March to the Sea—Evacuation of Savannah—Events in Florida and North Carolina—Invasion of Tennessee—Hood's Defeats and Escape—Confederate Cruisers—Capture of the "Alabama"—Farragut near Mobile—Election of President—Sherman in the Carolinas—Evacuation of Charleston—Grierson's Raid—Capture of Fort Fisher—Battles at Averysboro' and Bentonville—Wilson's Raid—Capture of Mobile—Operations Below Petersburg—Sheridan's Raid—Lee's Attempt to Escape—Stoneman's Raid—Movements for Peace.

SOON after evacuating Allatoona Pass, General Johnston was compelled to abandon other posts before the approach of Sherman's strengthened army. The latter pressed vigorously forward toward the Kenesaw Mountains that overlooks Marietta. Around these great hills and upon their slopes and summits, and also upon Lost and Pine Mountains, the Confederates had cast up intrenchments and planted signal stations; but after a desperate struggle—fighting battle after battle for the space of about a month, while rain was falling copiously almost without intermission—the Confederates were forced to leave all these strong positions. They fled toward the Chattahoochee River, in the direction of Atlanta, closely pursued by the Nationals. One of their corps commanders (Bishop Polk) had been instantly killed by a shell on the summit of Pine Mountain, and the insurgent armies had suffered fearful losses in that terrible struggle. So persistently did Johnston dispute the way from Dalton, in northern Georgia, to Atlanta, that when he reached the intrenchments at the latter place, he had lost nearly one-fourth of his army.

When, on the evening of July 2d, Sherman's cavalry threatened Johnston's flanks and menaced the ferry of the Chattahoochee, the Confederates abandoned the Great Kenesaw, and fled; and at dawn the next morning, when National skirmishers planted the Stars and Stripes over the Confederate battery on the summit of that eminence, they saw the hosts of their enemies flying in hot haste toward Atlanta. At eight o'clock Sherman rode into Marietta, a conqueror, close upon the heels of Johnston's army. He hoped to strike the Confederates a fatal blow while they were crossing the

Chattahoochee; but Johnston, by quick and skillful movements, passed that stream without molestation, and made a stand along the line of it. General Howard laid a pontoon bridge two miles above the ferry where Johnston had crossed, and at the same time there was a general movement of Sherman's forces all along his line. The imperilled Confederates were compelled to abandon the works which they had thrown up near the Chattahoochee, and retreat to a new line that covered Atlanta, their left resting on the Chattahoochee and their right on Peach Tree Creek. Now, toward the middle of July, the two armies rested; and Johnston, an able and judicious leader, was succeeded by General J. B. Hood, of Texas, a dashing and less cautious officer than his predecessor. At that time (July 10), or sixty-five days after Sherman put his army in motion southward, he was master of the whole country north and west of the river on the banks of which he was resting (or nearly one-half of Georgia), and had accomplished one of the major objects of the campaign, namely, the advancement of the National lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochee.

The possession of Atlanta, the key-point of military advantage in the campaign in that region, was the next prize to be contended for. The Nationals advanced at a little past the middle of July, destroying railways and skirmishing bravely; and on the 20th the Confederates, led by Hood in person, fell upon the corps of Howard, Hooker and Palmer, with heavy force. The assailants were repulsed after a sharp battle, in which both parties suffered severely.

There were now indications that Hood intended to evacuate Atlanta, when the Nationals moved rapidly toward the city, encountering strong intrenchments. Before these a part of Hood's army held their antagonists; while the main body, led by General Hardee, made a long night march, gained the rear of Sherman's forces on the morning of the 22d of July, and fell upon them with crushing weight of numbers that day. A terrific battle ensued, lasting many hours; and after a brief interval, one still more sanguinary was begun, which resulted in victory for the Nationals and the retreat of the Confederates to their works. During that day, General McPherson, who was at the head of the *Army of the Tennessee*, while reconnoitering in a wood, was shot dead by a Confederate sharp-shooter (Major McPherson); and General Logan took his place in command. Yet another sanguinary battle was fought on the 28th of July, before Atlanta, when the Confederates were again driven to their lines, with heavy losses; and from that time until the close of August, hostilities in that region were confined, chiefly, to raids upon railways and the interruption of the communications of each army with its supplies. Finally, on the 31st of August, the forces

of Howard and Hardee had a severe battle at Jonesboro', twenty miles below Atlanta, in which the Confederates were defeated. When Hood heard of this disaster, he perceived his peril, and blowing up his magazine at Atlanta, formed a junction with Hardee, and with his whole army soon recrossed the Chattahoochee. By his rash acts, Hood had wasted nearly one-half of his infantry in the space of a few weeks. The Nationals entered Atlanta on the 2d of September, 1864.

The chief object of the Southern campaign was now in possession of the National forces. Much of September was passed in the reorganization of the two armies, with the Chattahoochee separating them. Satisfied that Hood was preparing to attempt the seizure of Tennessee, Sherman sent General Thomas to Nashville to organize new troops that were to be concentrated there. Meanwhile Hood had planned and attempted the seizure of stores at Allatoona Pass, but had been foiled. Sherman started after him and chased him into northern Alabama, and there relinquishing the pursuit, returned to Atlanta, destroying the railway behind him.

Late in October, Sherman prepared for his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. To General Thomas he assigned the absolute command of a large portion of his army, cut loose from all communications with the North, and on the morning of the 14th of November marched from Atlanta with sixty-five thousand men, in two columns, commanded respectively by Generals Howard and Slocum, preceded by General Kilpatrick with five thousand cavalry. The army subsisted off the country, wherein they found ample supplies. They also met with very little opposition in its march of thirty-six days through the heart of Georgia. It was a military promenade, requiring very little military skill in the performance, and as little personal prowess. Finally, as the Nationals approached the Atlantic seaboard, they attacked and captured Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee River. That was on the 13th of December; and four days afterward, the army being before Savannah, Sherman demanded its surrender. Hardee was there with fifteen thousand men, and on the 20th (December, 1864) they evacuated the city and fled to Charleston. On the following day, Sherman entered the city in triumph. By his march through Georgia, he had discovered that the Confederacy was a mere shell in that region. Here we will leave him, and consider events elsewhere.

Early in 1864, intimations came from Florida that its citizens desired reunion with the National Government, but were hindered by Confederate troops there, led by General Finnegan. General Gillmore, then holding Charleston tightly in his grasp, sent General Truman Seymour to assist the Floridians. At the head of six thousand troops, Seymour went up the St.



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

John's River, drove the Confederates from Jacksonville, and pursued them into the interior. In the heart of a cypress swamp at Olustee Station, on a railway that crossed the Peninsula, Seymour encountered Finnegan strongly posted. A sharp battle occurred on the 20th of February (1864), when the Nationals were repulsed and retreated to Jacksonville, destroying Confederate stores valued at \$1,000,000. At about the same time, Admiral Bailey destroyed Confederate salt-works on the coast of Florida, valued at \$3,000,000.

In the spring of 1864, some stirring events occurred on the coast of North Carolina, the most notable of which was the capture of Plymouth (April 17), near the mouth of the Roanoke River, with sixteen hundred National troops, by the Confederate General Hoke. The Union troops were commanded by General Wessels. Hoke was assisted by the *Albemarle*, a powerful "ram." This vessel well-guarded these waters for several months, when, on the night of the 27th of October, it was destroyed with a torpedo by Lieutenant Cushing of the National navy. The night was intensely dark. Cushing, with thirteen men, went into Plymouth harbor in a boat, with a torpedo, and made for the "ram" through a barricade of logs. When they were within twenty yards of the "ram," they were discovered; but in the face of a terrible shower of bullets, they thrust the torpedo under the *Albemarle*, and it exploded with fatal effect. At that moment, a bolt from the "ram" went crashing through Cushing's boat. He and his men leaped into the water; but only himself and another escaped death from bullets and drowning, and were saved on a cutter that accompanied the torpedo boat. After that the war in that region consisted chiefly of skirmishes between detachments of the two armies. Gillmore's guns kept watch and ward over Charleston, while he and some of his troops, as we have observed, went to the James River.

General Hood, according to Sherman's expectations, pushed across the Tennessee River, near Florence, preceded by Forrest and his cavalry, who raided in lower Tennessee for some time, eluding National troops sent against him. He co-operated with Hood's army after its passage of the river, late in October; and at Johnsville, on the Tennessee, he destroyed National stores valued at \$1,500,000. Hood had been reinforced by General Taylor, from Louisiana, and pushed vigorously on toward Nashville with fifty thousand troops. General Thomas was at that place with twenty thousand troops; and he had as many more under his command scattered over Tennessee and northern Alabama, in active service against the invading army.

General Schofield, who had advanced to the Duck River, first encoun-

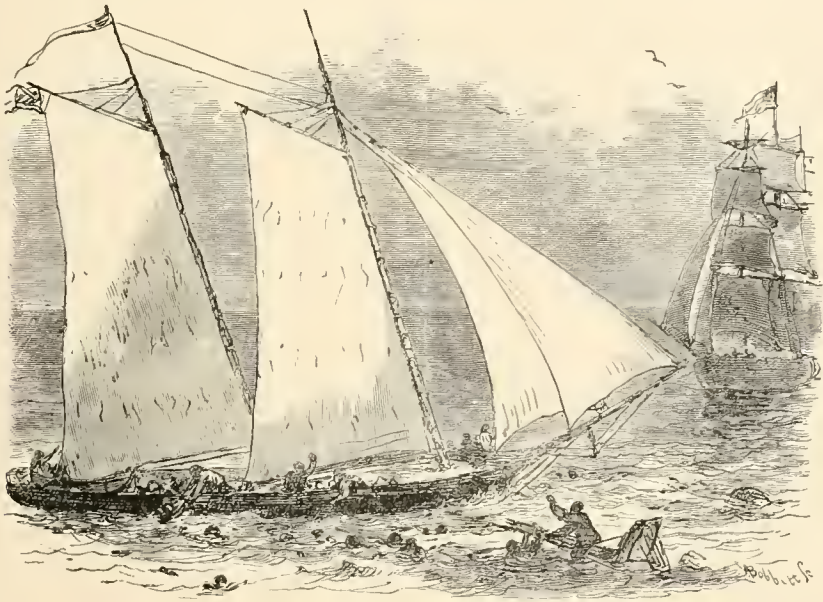
tered Hood, and fell back gradually to Franklin, where he took a stand on the 30th of November, and cast up intrenchments. His chief care had been to impede the march of the invaders, and to cover his train until it should reach Nashville. Hood came up in the afternoon of that day and a desperate battle was fought, which raged until near midnight. At the first onset, the Confederates drove the Nationals from their works and captured all their guns; but in a gallant counter-charge, all that the latter had lost were recovered, with ten battle-flags and three hundred captive insurgents as trophies of victory. Hood had lost one-sixth of his available force in the struggle. Schofield retreated to Nashville, with all his guns, closely pursued by Hood, who invested that post with forty thousand men at the beginning of December.

In the meantime, General Thomas had been reinforced by troops under General A. J. Smith, who had been driving Price out of Missouri. Hood's cavalry was superior to that of Thomas in numbers, and the latter kept the invaders in front of Nashville as long as possible, to enable him to collect there horses and means for transportation. Finally, at the middle of December, the Nationals moved upon the Confederates. The Fourth corps, led by General T. J. Wood, attacked them vigorously and drove them back to the foot of the Harpeth Hills. The next day (December 16) the same troops and others advanced, and after a severe battle, the invaders were sent flying southward with great precipitation and much confusion, and were closely pursued several days, Hood turning to fight occasionally. At the close of the month, Hood, with his shattered army covered by Forrest's cavalry, escaped across the Tennessee, and he became no longer formidable. In the course of four months, Thomas had made eleven thousand five hundred Confederates prisoners of war, and captured seventy-two pieces of artillery. His own loss was about ten thousand men, or less than one-half that of his antagonists.

At the beginning of 1864, Confederate cruisers on the ocean had captured one hundred and ninety-three American merchant-ships, whose aggregate cargoes were valued at over \$13,400,000. We have already noticed the depredations of the *Alabama*. Another rover, called the *Sumter*, after a short but destructive career, was blockaded and sold at Gibraltar, early in 1862. The *Florida* and *Georgia*, both built in Great Britain, captured and destroyed scores of ships; and in 1864, British shipyards furnished three other formidable cruisers for the use of the Confederates, in spite of the remonstrances of the American minister (Charles Francis Adams) in London.

The *Alabama* was the most formidable of them all. She was com-

manded by Captain Raphael Semmes, a native of Maryland, who died in August, 1877, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. She continued her depredations on the high seas, eluding the Government vessels until the 19th of June, 1864, when she encountered the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, off the port of Cherbourg, France. They fought desperately for an hour, when the *Alabama*, badly bruised, began to sink. Her flag was struck, and twenty minutes afterward she went to the bottom of the sea, leaving her commander and his crew struggling for life in the water. At that moment



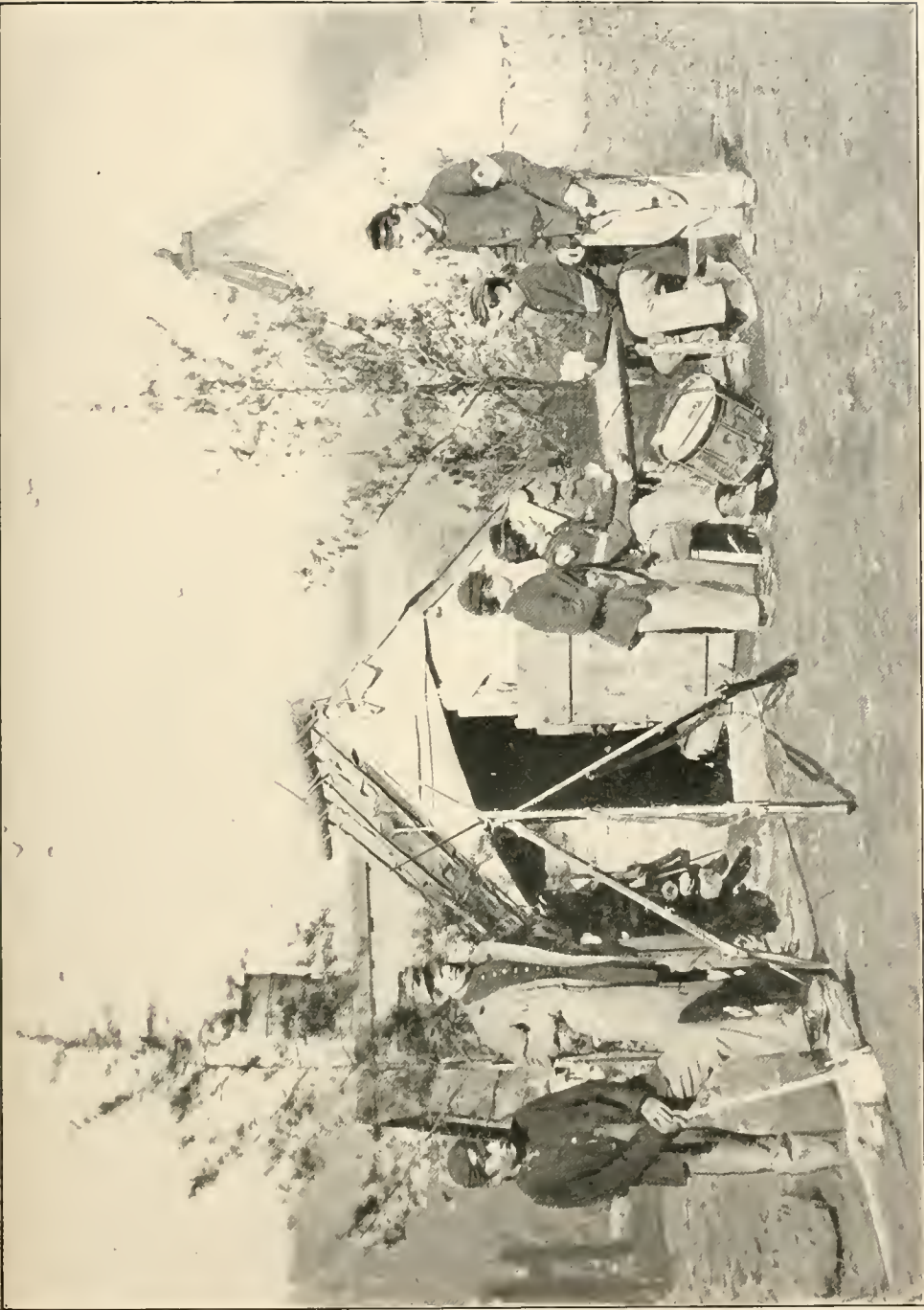
THE FRIENDLY YACHT AND ITS SERVICES.

the *Deerhound*, a yacht, with its owner (an English gentleman) and his family, appeared. The Englishman sympathized with the Confederates, and went out from Cherbourg ostensibly to see the contest, but really to bear away Semmes and his officers from the grasp of the Nationals should misfortune befall them. These officers, with a few of the crew, were rescued by the yacht and borne in safety to England, where the commander of the *Alabama* was honored with a public dinner (at Southampton); and Admiral Anson, of the royal navy, headed a list of subscribers to a fund raised for the purchase of an elegant sword to be presented to Semmes as a token of sympathy and esteem. The "common people" of the *Alabama* were saved by the boats of her antagonist, and some French vessels.

The news of Winslow's victory was received with joy by the friends of the Government; and it was determined to close the ports of Wilmington and Mobile, the only ones open to blockade-runners. For that purpose Admiral Farragut appeared off the entrance to Mobile (August 5, 1864) with a fleet of eighteen vessels, four of them iron-clads. Five thousand troops under General Gordon Granger had been sent by General Canby from New Orleans, to co-operate with the fleet. The latter (the wooden vessels lashed together in couples) sailed in between the two forts that guarded the entrance—Fort Morgan on the main and Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island. In order to have a general oversight of all the movements, the admiral was fast-bound to the rigging at the maintop of his flag-ship (*Hartford*), that he might not be dislodged by the shock of battle. Through a tube extending from his lofty position to the deck, he gave orders clearly in the midst of the uproar of battle; and in that perilous situation he remained during the passage by the forts and the severe conflict with Confederate vessels that followed. In that passage one of his iron-clad gunboats (*Tecumseh*) was destroyed by a torpedo, but the rest of the fleet was only slightly bruised. When he had passed the forts, a formidable "ram" two hundred feet long, named *Tennessee*, was seen coming swiftly down the bay with other gunboats. These made a ferocious dash at the fleet; but after a sharp conflict, brief and decisive, the *Tennessee* was captured and victory remained with the Nationals.

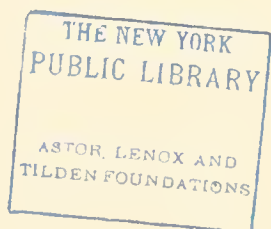
The forts were now attacked by land and water, and were captured—Fort Gaines on the 7th of August, and Fort Morgan on the 23d. With these were surrendered one hundred great guns and over fourteen hundred men. The port of Mobile was effectually closed, and vigorous measures were adopted for ending the war. On the 3d of September the President called for three hundred thousand men to reinforce the armies in the field. A most cheerful response was made; and in view of omens of peace in the near future, the President issued a request that the people should, in their respective places of public worship, on a specified Sabbath-day, offer united thanksgivings to God for his blessings.

In the fall of 1864, a very exciting canvass for the election of President of the Republic occurred. President Lincoln had been nominated by the Republicans, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated General George B. McClellan of the army for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President. The sentiments of the Peace-Faction prevailed among the adherents of McClellan and Pendleton, and they had the support of all the sympathizers with the Confederates, in the free-labor States. The consequence was that only one of



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government

CARD-PLAYING DURING THE CIVIL WAR, SHOWING THE EXTREME YOUTHFULNESS
OF THE SOLDIER OF THAT GREAT STRIFE



these States (New Jersey) gave them the electoral vote, and Lincoln and Johnson, supported by the loyal people, were chosen by an unprecedented majority.

We left General Sherman and his army at Savannah. After resting for about a month, they began a rapid march through South Carolina, in widely



FARRAGUT LASHED TO THE RIGGING.

separated columns, and so distracted the Confederates that they did not concentrate a large body of troops anywhere. Incessant rains flooded the country, and the swamp-lands were overflowed; but Sherman pressed forward toward Columbia, the capital of the State, and captured it on the 17th of February, 1865. This disaster caused the Confederates to evacuate Charleston. Hardee and his troops fled into North Carolina and joined the forces there, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. Colored troops entered the abandoned city and put out the fires which the Confederates had kindled

when they fled. A few weeks afterward, on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter four years before, Major Anderson, with his own hand, raised over the ruins of that fortress the identical Union flag which he had carried away from it in April, 1861.

Through the carelessness or folly of General Wade Hampton, who commanded the rear-guard at the evacuation of Columbus, the city was set on fire and a large part of it was laid in ashes. Sherman soon passed on to Fayetteville, in North Carolina, which place he reached on the 12th of March, leaving behind him a blackened path of desolation, forty miles in width. Most of the fighting on that march was done by the cavalry of Kilpatrick and Wheeler. From Fayetteville Sherman communicated with General Schofield, who was in command on the coast; and finding Johnston in front of him with forty thousand troops, he rested his army a few days.

At near the close of 1864, when Sherman was approaching the sea from Atlanta, a destructive raid through northern Mississippi was made by General Grierson with twenty-five hundred well-mounted men. He left Memphis on the 21st of December, and pushed forward to the Mobile and Ohio Railway, which he struck at Tupelo and destroyed all the way to Okolona, burning Confederate stores and alarming the whole country. After a successful contest at Okolona, Grierson went westward, distracting his foes by feints. He struck the Mississippi Central Railroad at Winona Station, and after several skirmishes he made his way to Vicksburg with trophies consisting of five hundred prisoners, eight hundred beeves, and a thousand liberated slaves. During this raid Grierson destroyed ninety-five railway cars, three hundred wagons, and thirty full warehouses.

It was late in 1864 when an attempt was made to close the port of Wilmington by the capture of Fort Fisher, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. The expedition sent against that post was composed of a powerful fleet of war-vessels commanded by Admiral D. D. Porter, and land troops under the immediate command of General Godfrey Weitzel, accompanied by General B. F. Butler, who was in charge of the department whence the troops were taken. The attempt (December 25, 1864) was unsuccessful; but another made in February following, by the same fleet, and land troops led by General Alfred H. Terry, resulted in the capture of the fort and garrison on the 15th of that month. Terry was then joined by Schofield, who, being the senior officer, took the chief command. The fleet destroyed two Anglo-Confederate cruisers lying in the Cape Fear River, and the National army entered Wilmington as victors on the 22d of February.

Sherman's rest at Fayetteville lasted only three days. Then he moved

his army forward in another distracting march that puzzled his antagonists. On the 16th of March, while moving eastward toward Goldsboro', his troops fought twenty thousand Confederates under General Hardee, at Averysboro', and defeated them. Two days afterward, a part of the army under General Slocum were attacked by the whole of Johnston's forces, near Bentonville. The conflict was terrible. Sherman's army had been surprised, and nothing but the most desperate efforts saved it from destruction. It received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself. The conflict ended at twilight. It had been conducted chiefly by General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Fourteenth Army Corps. Had the battle been lost by the Nationals, the results might have been most disastrous to the Union cause. Sherman's army might have been annihilated; so, also, might Grant's, at Petersburg, and the struggle would have been prolonged. It was won by the army of the Republic, and its enemies retreated hastily toward Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. Sherman was joined by Schofield and Terry at Goldsboro', when he hastened to City Point on the James River, by water, and there consulted the President and General Grant about future operations. He was back to his army three days after he left it.

After the sealing of Mobile harbor, arrangements were made for the capture of that city and gaining possession of Alabama. General Canby, in command of the Department of the Gulf, moved twenty-five thousand troops against Mobile, in March, 1865. At the same time General Wilson, of Thomas's army, with thirteen thousand horsemen and about two thousand foot-soldiers, swept down from the Tennessee to co-operate with Canby. In the space of thirty days, Wilson raided six hundred and fifty miles through Alabama and Georgia, meeting with scarcely any opposition but from Forrest's cavalry, whom he kept from assisting the besieged Confederates at Mobile. Wilson captured cities and towns and destroyed an immense amount of public property. Meanwhile Canby was reducing Mobile to submission; and on the 10th and 11th of April, General Maury, in command there, fled up the Alabama River with nine thousand troops, leaving five thousand men as prisoners, with one hundred and fifty cannon, in the hands of the victors. The war was now virtually at an end in the Gulf region.

During the winter of 1864-65, the *Armies of the Potomac* and of the *James* lay in comparative quiet in front of Petersburg and Richmond, holding the Confederate government and army so tightly in their grasp that the latter could not form a junction with Johnston's forces, nor interfere

with Sherman's and Thomas's operations in the South and West. Early in December, Meade had sent Warren to destroy Lee's means of transportation of supplies over the Weldon Railway, near the North Carolina line; and early in February a heavy flanking column, horse and foot, stretched across that road beyond the Confederate right, to Dinwiddie Court-House, seeking an opportunity to turn the right flank of Lee's army. Severe struggles ensued, with heavy losses, and resulted in the permanent extension of the National line to Hatcher's Run, and the railway from City Point to that stream.

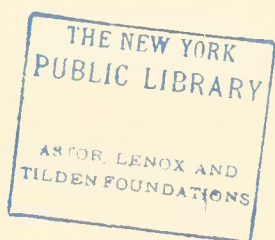
Grant now prepared to make a general and vigorous movement against Richmond; and late in February, he ordered General Sheridan to destroy all communications with that city north of the James River and to seize Lynchburg, a great depot of Confederate supplies. That officer was then in the Shenandoah Valley. With Generals Merritt and Custer, he left Winchester on the 27th, with ten thousand men, horse and foot; went up the Valley to Staunton, scattering Early's forces at Waynesboro'; and crossed the Blue Ridge and destroyed the railway as far as Charlottesville. Lynchburg was evidently too strong for him; so he divided his troops and sent one party to break up the railway toward that city, and the other to disable the James River Canal, by which large supplies of provisions entered the Confederate capital. Then Sheridan passed around the left of Lee's forces and joined the *Army of the Potomac* on the 27th of March. This destructive raid alarmed Lee, who saw that the salvation of his army and of the Confederacy now depended upon his forming a junction with Johnston's forces in North Carolina. For that purpose he concentrated his army near Grant's centre, in front of Petersburg, and made a furious assault (March 25, 1865) upon Fort Steadman, a strong point in the National lines, hoping to break through there; but he was repulsed with heavy loss, and his chances for reaching North Carolina were more remote than ever.

During the early part of the preceding winter, General Stoneman and his cavalry had made a campaign in southwestern Virginia; and early in February that commander was ordered to make a raid into South Carolina in aid of Sherman's movements. But that general was so successful that Stoneman's help was not needed, and he was directed to march eastward and destroy the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad as far toward Lynchburg as possible. When this was done, he turned southward and struck the North Carolina Railway between Danville and Greensboro'. Some of his troops penetrated to Salisbury, where the Confederates had many Union prisoners. There they destroyed a vast amount of public property; but the Union prisoners had been removed, and were not released. Then a part



From a war-time photograph by Brady. By permission of the U. S. Government.

GEN. GRANT IN FRONT OF HIS HEADQUARTERS AFTER THE
BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR



of Stoneman's force destroyed (April 19) by fire the magnificent railway bridge, eleven hundred feet long, of the South Carolina Railway, that spanned the Catawba River; while the leader and the main body went into East Tennessee. During this raid, the National cavalry captured six thousand prisoners, thirty-one pieces of artillery, and a large number of small arms.

It was evident in the early spring that a few more heavy blows would end the Confederacy and the war. Individuals had made efforts from time to time to secure a peace without conquering the enemies of the Republic by force of arms. In the summer of 1864, the late Horace Greeley made such an attempt. At about the same time, two other civilians made their way to Richmond, for the purpose; and at near the close of the year the venerable Maryland politician, the late Francis P. Blair, visited the Confederate capital on the same errand. He conferred with Jefferson Davis, who, in a letter addressed to him, expressed his willingness to "renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the *two countries*." When Mr. Blair communicated the contents of this letter to President Lincoln, the latter expressed *his* willingness to receive any agent of the Confederacy to confer, with a view, he said, "to securing peace for the people of our *common country*." The latter expression showed Davis that he could not treat for peace on the basis of independence for the Southern States; nevertheless, so loud was the popular clamor for peace, that he appointed Alexander H. Stephens, John A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter commissioners, who were permitted to proceed as far as Hampton Roads, by water, but were not allowed to land. There they were met by President Lincoln and Secretary Seward. The President assured the commissioners that peace might be secured only on the condition of absolute submission, everywhere within the bounds of the Republic, to the National authority; and that there could be no secession from the position taken on the subject of slavery. He told them that Congress had just adopted an amendment to the National Constitution, which would be ratified by the loyal people, for the prohibition of slavery in every part of the Republic.

The conference was fruitless except in obtaining a clearer definition of the views of the Government and the Confederate leaders. The result was very unsatisfactory to the latter. At a large public meeting held in Richmond on the 5th of February, Mr. Davis, speaking in reference to Mr. Lincoln's expression, "our common country," said: "Sooner than we should be united again, I would be willing to yield up everything I have on earth, and, if it were possible, would sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." And at a great war-meeting held on the 9th, at which

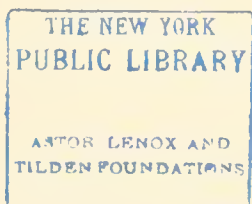
R. M. T. Hunter presided, it was resolved that the Confederates would never lay down their arms until their independence was won. This being their determination, the National Government had no alternative, and was compelled to prosecute the war to a final dispersion of the armed forces seeking to destroy its existence.

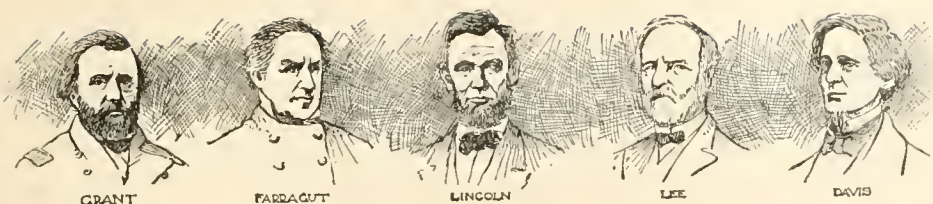
The confidence assumed by Davis and his associates seems to have been inspired by hopes yet entertained of receiving foreign aid. Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate Congress (once United States Senator from Mississippi), says in his "War of the Rebellion": "The fact was well known to me that Mr. Davis and his friends were confidently looking for foreign aid, and from several quarters. It was stated, in my hearing, by several special friends of the Confederate president, that *one hundred thousand French soldiers* were expected to arrive within the limits of the Confederate States, by way of Mexico; and it was more than rumored that a *secret compact*, wholly unauthorized by the Confederate constitution, with certain Polish commissioners, who had lately been on a visit to Richmond, had been effected, by means of which Mr. Davis would now be supplied with some twenty or thirty thousand additional troops, then refugees from Poland, and sojourning in several European states, which would be completely at the command of the president for any purpose whatever." Mr. Foote adds, in that connection, that he was satisfied that Mr. Davis would, in sending peace commissioners, "so manacle their hands by *instructions*, as to render impossible all attempts at successful negotiation."



From a war-time photograph by permission of the U. S. Government

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER, C. S. A.





CHAPTER CXXXI.

A Desperate Struggle—Battle at the Five Forks—Assault on Petersburg—Panic in Richmond—Flight of the Confederate Government—Richmond on Fire—National Troops Enter It—Trophies and Confederate Archives—Rejoicings—Seward's Speech—Evacuation of Petersburg—Lee Becomes Despondent, is Defeated, and Surrenders at Appomattox Court-House—Lee's Farewell Address—Lincoln in Richmond—Proclamation of Peace—Assassination of the President—The Assassin's Fate—Johnson President—A Murderous Plot—Proposal by the Confederate Leader Rejected by General Johnston—Surrender of General Johnston and Others—Capture of Jefferson Davis—Leniency toward Him.

AFTER Lee's effort to break through the National line at Fort Steadman, it was resolved to make a grand movement against the Confederate right. Large bodies of troops were drawn from the Army of the James, under General Ord. General Sheridan, with ten thousand horsemen, was placed on the extreme left of the National army. The Ninth corps, under General Parke, and the force commanded by General Weitzel, were left on the north side of the James to hold the extended line of the National intrenchments, then full thirty-five miles in length; and General Grant gave wide discretion to the commander on the left, concerning attacks upon the Confederate line during the contemplated grand movement. "I would have it particularly enjoined upon corps commanders," he said, "that in case of an attack from the enemy, those not attacked are not to wait for orders from the commanding officers of the army to which they may belong, but that they will move promptly, and notify the commander of their action." General Benham was in charge of the immense depository of supplies at City Point.

Two days after Sheridan's return from his great raid at the close of March, the forward movement was begun. Lee perceived his own imminent peril; and leaving Longstreet with eight thousand men to protect Richmond, he massed the remainder of his army at the point of most apparent danger. Then began a fierce and desperate struggle for the mastery. It was made on the part of the Nationals chiefly by the Fifth corps, under Warren, with the co-operation of Sheridan. The latter, holding a position called the Five Forks, was struck so suddenly and severely by troops under

Pickett and Bushrod Johnson, that his force was driven back to Dinwiddie Court-House, in great confusion, hotly pursued. Warren was sent to Sheridan's aid; and near Five Forks a sanguinary battle was fought on the 1st of April. The Confederates were defeated and fled westward in great disorder, leaving five thousand of their comrades behind as prisoners of war. Many of the Confederates perished in the battle; and the loss of the Nationals was about a thousand men.

On the evening of the battle at the Five Forks, and before the shouts of victory there had reached the National line before Petersburg, General Grant had ordered his great guns all along that line to open a destructive cannonade upon the city and the Confederate works. The assault was kept up until four o'clock in the morning. It was an awful night for the few inhabitants remaining in Petersburg, and for the soldiers in the trenches. At dawn the works were assailed by infantry. Parke, with the Ninth corps, carried the outer works on his front, but was checked at an inner line; and the Nationals were successful on their extreme left, in crushing Lee's right wing. Longstreet had hastened down from Richmond to assist him, but he was too late. The Confederate right was shattered beyond recovery; and the Southside Railway, on which Lee placed great dependence, was struck by Sheridan at three different points.

Lee now perceived that he could no longer hold Petersburg, or the capital, with safety to his army, then reduced, by enormous losses in the space of a few days, to about thirty-five thousand men, and he resolved to maintain his position, if possible, until night, and then retreat with the hope of making his way to Johnston, in North Carolina, by way of the Danville railroad. He telegraphed to Davis at Richmond, in substance: "My lines are broken in three places; Richmond must be evacuated this evening." It was Sabbath morning, the 2d of April, and the message was delivered to Davis in St. Paul's Church. He quietly left the fane with deeply anxious features, and for a moment a painful silence prevailed. The religious services were closed; and before Dr. Minnegerode, the rector, dismissed the congregation, he gave notice that General Ewell, the commander in Richmond, desired the local forces to assemble at three o'clock in the afternoon.

For hours the people of the city were kept in the most anxious suspense, for the "government" was as silent as the sphynx. Panic gradually took the place of judgment; and when, toward evening, wagons were seen a-loading with trunks and boxes at the departments, and were driven to the Danville Railway station, and it became evident that Davis and his cabinet were preparing to flee, the wildest confusion and alarm prevailed. Prominent Confederates also prepared to fly, they knew not whither; and

at eight o'clock in the evening, Davis abandoned his capital and sought personal safety in flight. This act was a marked commentary on his assertion made in a speech a few weeks before: "If it were possible, I would be willing to sacrifice my life a thousand times before I would succumb." His wife had fled to Danville a few days before, and there awaited his coming. At nine o'clock in the evening, the Virginia legislature fled. The Confederate congress had already gone, having left an order for the cotton, tobacco, and other property in the city, to be burned. At midnight, all signs of a "government" had disappeared; and at three o'clock in the morning, incendiary fires were lighted. There was a fresh breeze from the south, and very soon a large portion of the chief business section of Richmond was enveloped in flames. Drunken incendiaries fired buildings not in the pathway of the great conflagration; and until dawn the city was a Pandemonium. Most of the Confederate troops had fled; and at an early hour in the morning, General Weitzel, in command of the forces on the north side of the James, entered Richmond with his colored regiments and put out the fires. Lieutenant Johnston Livingston De Peyster, of Weitzel's staff, ascended to the roof of the Virginia State-House and there unfurled the National Flag, where it had not been seen floating for four years.

Meanwhile, Davis and his associates fled to Danville, whither Lee hoped to follow. They had left the inhabitants of the capital defenceless and that city on fire; and they also abandoned five thousand of their sick and wounded in the hospitals, and a thousand soldiers, to become prisoners of war. They also left, as trophies for the victors, five hundred pieces of artillery, five thousand small arms, many locomotives and cars, and a large amount of other public property. They carried with them what gold they could seize in their haste; also the archives of the Confederate government, together with their great seal which had just arrived from England, but which was never stamped upon any public document. A part of the archives were captured by National troops, and the remainder were subsequently sold to our Government by the Confederate ex-minister to Mexico.

Tidings of the fall of Richmond went over the land on that memorable 3d of April, 1865, and produced great joy in every loyal bosom. Before sunset public demonstrations of delight and satisfaction were everywhere visible. At the National Capital, all the public offices were closed, and all business among those who were in sympathy with the Government was suspended. There was an immense gathering of people in Wall street, New York, on that day, to listen to the voices of patriotic orators; and from the tower of Trinity Church, which looks down upon that great mart of money-changers, the bells chimed music in airs consonant with the public feeling.

The people lingered long; and a deep religious feeling, born of joy and gratitude, pervaded that almost innumerable throng. That feeling was remarkably manifested when thousands of voices joined in chanting the Christian Doxology to the grand air of Old Hundred.

In Washington city, the loyal people gathered in a great throng and visited Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. They called for a speech, when he appeared and said: "I am now about writing my foreign despatches. What shall I tell the Emperor of China? I shall thank him, in your name, for never having permitted a piratical flag to enter a harbor of the empire. What shall I say to the Sultan of Turkey? I shall thank him for always having surrendered rebel insurgents who have taken refuge in his kingdom. What shall I say to the Emperor of the French? I shall say to him that he can go to Richmond to-morrow and get his tobacco, so long held under blockade there, provided the rebels have not used it up. To Lord John Russell, I will say, the British merchants will find the cotton exported from our ports, under treaty with the United States, cheaper than cotton obtained by running the blockade. As for Earl Russell himself, I need not tell him that this is a war for freedom and national independence, and the rights of human nature, and not a war for empire; and if Great Britain should only be just to the United States, Canada will remain undisturbed by us, so long as she prefers the authority of the noble Queen to voluntary incorporation in the United States. What shall I tell the King of Prussia? I will tell him that the Germans have been faithful to the standard of the Union, as his excellent minister, Baron Gerolt, has been constant in his friendship to the United States during his long residence in this country. To the Emperor of Austria, I shall say that he has proved himself a very wise man, for he told us at the beginning, that he had no sympathy with the rebels anywhere." In these few words, Secretary Seward revealed the fact that while Great Britain and France—Christian nations—were assisting the enemies of our Republic to destroy it, Pagan China and Mohammedan Turkey, animated by principles of right and justice, were its abiding friends.

Lee, after he had advised the evacuation of Richmond, perceiving that he could no longer hold Petersburg, abandoned it. He stole away so silently on the evening of the 2d, that the suspicions of the Union pickets were not awakened; and when, at dawn, it was discovered that the intrenchments of the Confederates in front of Petersburg had been abandoned, Lee's army were miles away to the westward, seeking to join the columns at Richmond, in a flight for safety. Lee concentrated his broken army at Amelia Court-House, where they might reach the Danville Railway. He had ordered stores to be sent from Danville to that point for the use of his



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MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM MAHONE, C. S. A.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

army; but when, on Sunday afternoon, the loaded trains reached Amelia Court-House, a despatch reached the officer in charge, directing him to continue the train on to Richmond for the transportation of the "government" and the archives. The stupid officer did not leave the supplies at Amelia, but took them on to Richmond, and they were there destroyed in the conflagration. This was a fatal mistake; and when Lee reached Amelia Court-House, with his half-famished army, and found no supplies there, hope forsook him, for his plans were thwarted. He could not move on for want of provisions and forage; and in the meantime, Sheridan gained a position between the Confederates and Lee's avenue of escape. For several days the latter made desperate efforts to break through the National line, cavalry and infantry, that stood across his path, but failed. Finally, on the 9th of April, he made overtures for capitulation.

On the 7th, Grant had written a note to Lee, suggesting that the events of the past week should convince him of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia. "I feel that it is so," Grant wrote, "and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." To this, Lee replied, that he did not believe further resistance would be vain, but reciprocating Grant's desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, he said: "Before considering your proposition, I ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender." After dispatching his reply to Grant, Lee resumed his march westward toward Lynchburg, under cover of the darkness. He hoped to escape to the shelter of the mountains beyond Lynchburg. So silent was his retreat, that it was not discovered until the morning of the 8th, when the National army pushed on in pursuit of the fugitives.

On receiving Lee's answer, the lieutenant-general replied: "There is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States, until properly exchanged;" and he proposed to meet Lee in person, or to delegate officers for the purpose of definitely arranging the terms of surrender.

Hoping to escape, after his uninterrupted night march, Lee sent a note to General Grant, saying he did not propose to surrender. "To be frank," he said, "I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army." He then proposed to meet Grant on the morning of the 9th to confer upon the subject of peace. The lieutenant-general replied that he had no authority to treat on the topic of peace, and that a meeting

for such a purpose would be useless. "The terms upon which peace can be had," he said, "are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed." In the meantime Sheridan had settled the question, and rendered further parley unnecessary. He stood across Lee's path on the morning of the 9th, near Appomattox Court-House. The latter saw that his only hope of escape was in cutting his way successfully through Sheridan's line. This he attempted at day-break with his whole army, then numbering not more than ten thousand effective men. He failed again. Appalled, the Confederates staggered back, and displayed a white flag before the van of the troopers of General Custer. Then Lee wrote to Grant: "I received your note of this morning on the picket-line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview, in accordance with an offer contained in your letter of yesterday, for that purpose."

Grant sent Lee word that he assented to his request, and arrangements were made for an interview in the parlor of the neat brick dwelling of Wilmer McLean at Appomattox Court-House. There, at two o'clock on Palm-Sunday (April 9, 1865), the two commanders met, with courteous recognition. General Grant was accompanied by his chief aide-de-camp, Colonel Parker, a great-nephew of the celebrated Seneca chief, Red Jacket; General Lee, by Colonel Marshall, his adjutant-general, a great-grandson of Chief-Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court of the United States. The terms of surrender were discussed and settled. They were put in the form of a written proposition by Grant, and a written acceptance by Lee. Having been engrossed, they were signed by the generals, at half-past three o'clock, on a neat mahogany centre-table, with a marble top.

The terms prescribed by General Grant were extremely lenient and magnanimous, considering the circumstances. They required Lee and his men to give their parole of honor that they would not take up arms against their Government until regularly exchanged; gave to the officers their side-arms, baggage, and private horses; and pledged the faith of the Government that they should not be punished for their treason and rebellion so long as they should respect that parole and be obedient to the laws. Grant even went so far, in his generosity, at Lee's suggestion, that he gave instructions to the proper officers to allow such cavalymen of the Confederate army as owned their horses to retain them, as they would, he said, need them for tilling their farms.

With the freedom of utterance which the generosity of the victor had

given him, General Lee, on the following day, issued an extraordinary farewell Address to his Army, in which, in very guarded language, he told his soldiers, in effect, that in taking up arms against their country and trying to destroy the Republic in whose government he and they had always shared as equals, they had done a patriotic act, and for which they would take with



SIGNING THE CAPITULATION AT APPOMATTOX.

them "the satisfaction that proceeds from conscientiousness of duty faithfully performed;" therefore, he invoked God's blessing upon their acts. He gave them to understand that they had no "country"—no government to which their allegiance was due, excepting the territory and the rulers within the bounds of the Southern Confederacy; and he spoke of his "unceasing admiration" of their "constancy and devotion to that country," which had "endeared them to their countrymen."

When the terms of surrender were agreed upon, the Confederate soldiers were provided with food from the National stores; and on Wednesday, the 12th of April, 1865, they laid down their arms. Transportation and food were provided by the Government to large numbers of the troops on their journey homeward. The number paroled was about twenty-five thousand men, of whom not more than nine thousand men had arms in their hands. With the men were surrendered about sixteen thousand small arms, one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, seventy-one stand of colors, about eleven hundred wagons and caissons, and four thousand horses and mules. The official announcement of the great victory was sent over the land with the speed of lightning, by the Secretary of War, and an order for a salute of two hundred guns at the headquarters of every army, and at the Military Academy at West Point.

President Lincoln had been at City Point and vicinity, for several days before the fall of Richmond, anxiously watching the current of events. On the day after the Confederate capital was evacuated, he went up to that city on Admiral Porter's flag-ship, the *Malvern*; and while on his way to Weitzel's headquarters, at the late residence of Jefferson Davis, he was saluted with the loud cheers and grateful ejaculations of a vast concourse of emancipated slaves, who had been told that the "tall man" was their liberator. On the day of Lee's surrender, he returned to Washington; and on the 11th he issued a proclamation, in which he demanded, henceforth, for our vessels in foreign ports, on penalty of retaliation, those privileges and immunities which had hitherto been denied them on the plea of according equal belligerent rights to the Republic and its internal enemies. On the following day an order was issued from the War Department, putting an end to all drafting and recruiting for the National army, and the purchase of munitions of war and supplies. This virtual proclamation of the end of the war went over the land on the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter (April 14), while General Anderson was replacing the old flag over the ruins of that fortress. Preparations were a-making for a National Thanksgiving, and the beams of returning peace illuminated the Republic, so to speak, when suddenly a dark cloud appeared and overspread the firmament with a gloomy pall. Before midnight the telegraph flashed the sad tidings over the land that the President had been assassinated! He was sitting in a theatre at Washington, with his wife and friends, when John Wilkes Booth, an actor by profession, entered his box stealthily and shot Mr. Lincoln in the back of his head with a Derringer pistol. The assassin then rushed to the front of the box with a gleaming dagger in his hand, and shouted "*Sic semper tyrannis*"—so may it always be with tyrants—the

motto on the seal of Virginia. Then he leaped upon the stage, booted and spurred for a night ride; and shouting to the audience, "*The South is avenged!*" he escaped by a back door, mounted a horse that was in readiness for him, dashed across the Anacosta and found temporary shelter among sympathizing Maryland slaveholders. Then he fled into Virginia, where he was overtaken by pursuers in a barn below Fredericksburg, which was set on fire; and as the assassin emerged from the flames he was shot by a sergeant named Boston Corbett.

The President expired early in the morning of the 15th of April. His body was taken, in solemn procession, to his home in Springfield, Illinois, by way of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany and western cities, everywhere receiving tokens of the people's love and grief. Funeral honors were displayed in many cities in the land. Six hours after the demise of the Chief Magistrate, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, who was his constitutional successor, took the oath of office as President of the United States, administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

There seems to be a warrant for the belief, that the assassination of the President was only a part of a plan, in which the murder of the cabinet ministers, General Grant, and prominent Republicans, was contemplated; for on the same evening a murderous attack was made upon Secretary Seward, at his own house, by an ex-Confederate soldier. Secretary Stanton was absent from his home, and was not visited. It was a night of horrors at the capital; and President Johnson issued a proclamation early in May, signed by himself and Mr. Hunter, the Assistant-Secretary of State, in which he declared that there was "evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice" that there had been a conspiracy formed by "Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders and William C. Cleary, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, harbored in Canada," to assassinate the President and Secretary of State; and he offered a reward of \$25,000 apiece for their arrest, excepting Cleary, a clerk, for whom \$10,000 were offered.

With the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, the war was virtually ended. But only the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered. That of Johnston, in North Carolina, and smaller bodies elsewhere, were yet in arms. When Sherman heard of the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg, he put his whole army in motion and moved on Johnston, who was at Smithfield, on the Neuse River, with full thirty thousand men, starting at daybreak on the 10th of April, for the purpose of striking his rear. Johnston had just heard of the surrender of Lee, and retreated through Raleigh, and along the course of the railway westward, toward Greensboro'. At the

same time Davis and his cabinet, who had made Danville the seat of the Confederate government for a few days, had fled from that place to Greensboro', with anxious solicitude for themselves and their treasures. They had proposed to Johnston that he should disperse his army excepting two or three batteries of artillery, and as many infantry as he could mount, and with these should form a body-guard for the "government," and strike for the Mississippi and beyond, with Mexico as their final objective. Johnston, a man of honor, spurned this base and selfish proposal to desert his companions-in-arms far away from their homes and unprovided for, and subject the people in the region where the army would be disbanded to the sore evils of plunder, which lawless bands of starving men would engage in. Governed by the principles of justice and humanity, he had the moral courage to do his duty according to the dictates of conscience, and refused to fight any more in a hopeless cause. He stated frankly to the people of his military department, that "war could no longer be continued by them, except as robbers," and that he should take immediate steps to save the army and people from further evil and to "avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war." On the 26th of April, Johnston, and the army under his command, excepting a body of cavalry led by Wade Hampton, surrendered to Sherman, near Durham Station, in Orange county, North Carolina, on the same generous terms accorded to Lee and his troops. The number surrendered and paroled was about twenty-five thousand, with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and about fifteen thousand small arms. The whole number of his troops present and elsewhere was seventy thousand. On the 4th of May, General Taylor surrendered the Confederate forces in Alabama to General Canby, at Citronville; and the Confederate navy in the Tombigbee River was surrendered to Admiral Farragut at the same time. The last conflict in the terrible Civil War occurred near Brazos Santiago, in Texas, on the 13th of May, when hostilities entirely ceased.

Jefferson Davis, as we have observed, set up his "government" at Danville, after his flight from Richmond. On the 5th of April, he issued a proclamation from that place, in his usual style. "Let us but will it," he said, "and we are free. Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, my fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy." This was followed a few days afterward by his proposition to Johnston to abandon his army and protect the "government" in its flight to Mexico. In his proclamation, Davis declared his purpose to defend Virginia, and that "no peace should ever be

made with the infamous invaders of her territory;" now he ingloriously *abandoned* Virginia. When he heard of the surrender of Johnston's army, and the ring of Stoneman's sabres fell upon his ears, he and his cabinet, escorted by two thousand cavalry, fled across rivers and swamps, with their forces, toward the Gulf of Mexico; for the way to the Mississippi and beyond was barred. Rumors of Stoneman, of Wilson, and even of Sheridan being on their track quickened their flight; while their escort so rapidly dwindled that when they reached Washington, in Georgia, the troopers were not more than sufficient to make a respectable raiding party. There all the cabinet ministers but Postmaster-General Reagan, left Davis, whose wife and children, and Mrs. Davis's sister (Miss Howell) had accompanied the fugitive "government" from Danville. Now, for prudential reasons, this family took another but nearly parallel route for the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, traveling in wagons. Information soon reached Davis that some Confederate soldiers, believing that his wife had the treasure taken from Richmond with her, had formed a plot to seize all her trunks and search for it. He instantly hastened to the rescue of his family and property, and to provide for their protection. For this purpose he and a few followers rode rapidly eighteen miles and joined his family near Irwinsville, the capital of Irwin county, Georgia, nearly due south from Macon. They had just pitched tents for the night; and the wearied president of the ruined Confederacy lay down to rest, intending to retrace his steps in the morning.

One hundred thousand dollars had been offered by the Government for Davis's capture. Vigilance was thereby made keen and active. General Wilson was at Macon when he heard of Davis's flight toward the Gulf, and sent out two bodies of cavalry to intercept him. One was composed of Michigan men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, and the others were from Wisconsin, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Hardin. Discovering Davis's halting-place, both parties approached the camp of the sleeping fugitives simultaneously from opposite directions, and, mistaking each other for enemies, in the gray light of early dawn, they exchanged shots. The noise aroused the slumberers. The camp was surrounded; and Davis, while attempting to escape partially disguised in a woman's water-proof cloak, and a shawl thrown over his head by Miss Howell, was captured by Pritchard and his men. The whole fugitive party were taken to Macon. Thence they were sent to Savannah, and conveyed by water to Fortress Monroe, where Davis was confined in comfortable quarters in a casemate. There he remained a long time, when he was admitted to bail. He was never tried, and still lives (1877), an uncompromising enemy of the Republic which he tried to destroy.



CHAPTER CXXXII.

Peace—The Armies Return Home—Address to the Soldiers by the General-in-Chief—Disbanding of the Armies—A Problem Solved—The Navy : Its Growth and Work—The Blockade and Blockade-Runners, and the Results—Exchange of Prisoners—Davis's Proclamations—Exchange of Prisoners Stopped—Treatment of Union Prisoners—Lee's Ignorance—The Responsibility Properly Placed—Hospitals—United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions.

WHEN the Civil War, waged by the armies in the field, had ended, the people turned to the pursuits of peace. There was joy and hope in every loyal bosom in the land; and the friends of the Union everywhere found expression to their feelings in the following hymn, composed by George H. Boker, and sung by the Loyal League of Philadelphia on the anniversary of the nation's independence, just four years after the National Congress met at the Capitol to provide for the suppression of the great insurrection and the salvation of the Republic :

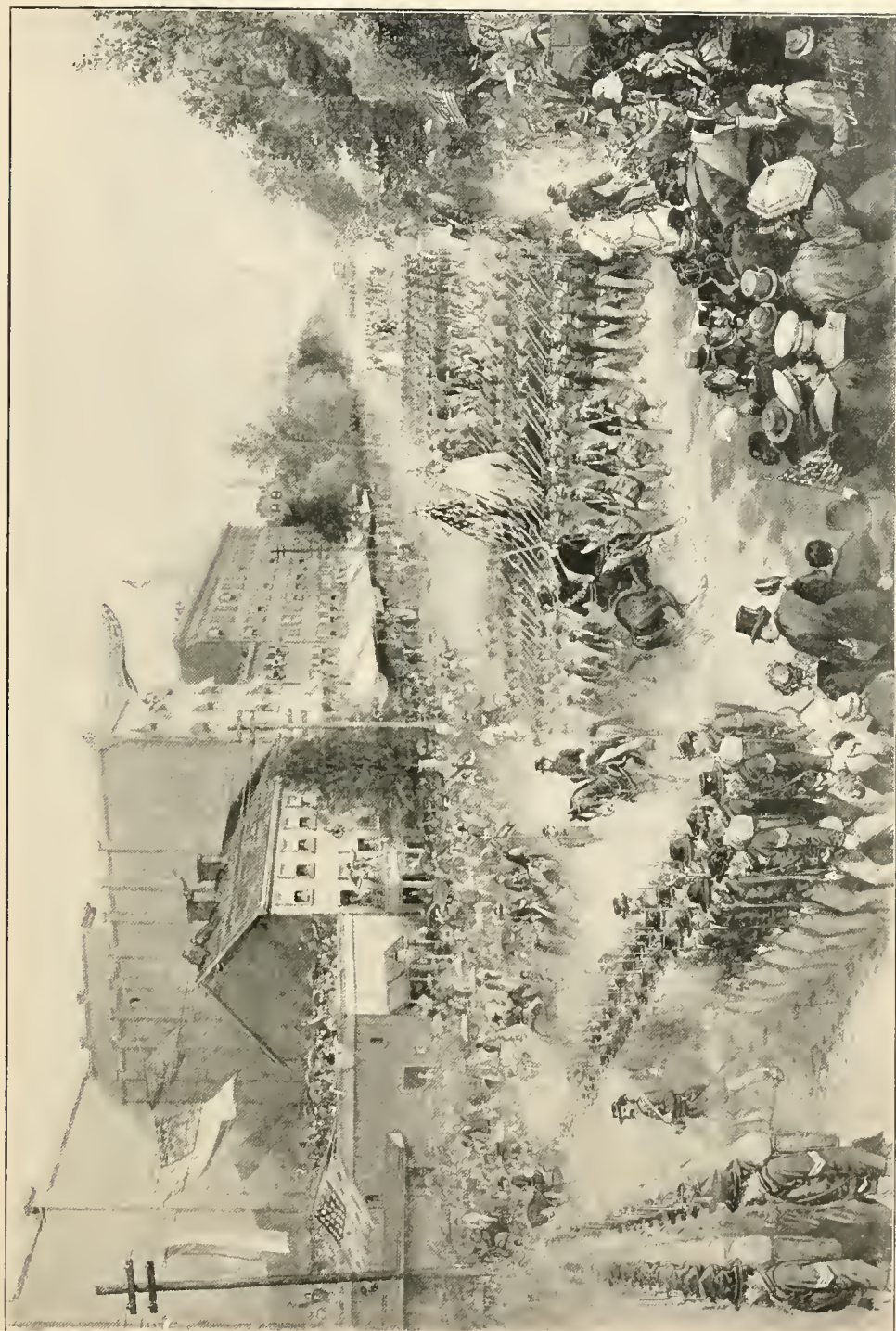
"Thank God the bloody days are past,
Our patient hopes are crown'd at last ;
And sounds of bugle, drum and fife
But lead our heroes home from strife !

"Thank God there beams o'er land and sea
Our blazing Star of victory ;
And everywhere, from main to main,
The old flag flies and rules again !

"Thank God ! oh dark and trodden race,
Your Lord no longer veils his face ;
But through the clouds and woes of fight
Shines on your souls a brighter light !

"Thank God ! we see, on every hand,
Breast-high the rip'ning grain-crops stand ;
The orchards bend, the herds increase,
But oh, thank God ! thank God for PEACE !"

Before this hymn was chanted, the soldiers of the great armies of the Republic who had saved the nation from political death, and, incidentally, had achieved the work of emancipation for an enslaved race, were making



J. E. Taylor

GRAND REVIEW OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNION IN WASHINGTON, MAY 22 AND 23, 1865

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their way homeward. They were everywhere received with the warmest demonstrations of gratitude and affection. In almost every village and city there were public receptions of returning companies and regiments; and their tattered banners are cherished as precious mementoes of a noble work finished by those who bore them through the perils of the battle-field. With the exception of a few soldiers who were left in Virginia and North Carolina, those who confronted Lee and Johnston and achieved a victory over both, were marched to the vicinity of the National Capital; and during two memorable days (May 22d, 23d, 1865) they moved through that city, in long procession, with tens of thousands of tear-moistened eyes gazing upon them, and passed in review before the Chief Magistrate of the nation and his ministers. Human vision had never beheld a spectacle like that, in all its aspects. Then began the work of disbanding the armies, by mustering out of service officers and men; and on the 2d of June (1865), the general-in-chief (Grant) issued the following address to them:

“Soldiers of the Armies of the United States: By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, and your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and of the proclamation forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the Rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order, and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dims the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these, a grateful nation bedews with tears. It honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families.”

The Civil War in America was more extended in area and more destructive of life and property than any recorded in history. The whole number

of men called into the military and naval service during the war, to save the Union, was 2,656,533, of whom nearly 200,000 were colored. About 1,400,000 men were in actual service, and 60,000 were killed in the field. There were 30,000 mortally wounded; and 184,000 died in hospitals and camps. Full 300,000 Union soldiers perished during the war, and it is supposed the Confederates lost an equal number. On both sides there were a large number more or less disabled for life. It is estimated that, during the war, 1,000,000 men, taken from the active pursuits of life, were sacrificed, to feed the ambition of a comparatively few men who wished to form an empire with human slavery as its corner-stone, and who tried to pull down our grand structure of free government, that they might build their forbidding fabric upon its ruins. That war burdened the industry of the whole nation with a loss and debt of over \$6,000,000,000. But it gave freedom to about 4,000,000 slaves, and purged our National escutcheon of a monstrous stain.

The disbanding of the army went steadily on from the first of June (1865), and by the middle of November following, nearly 800,000 of the 1,000,000 of the soldiers whose names were on the rolls on the first of May had been mustered out of service and returned to their several avocations. The wonderful spectacle was exhibited for the contemplation of the civilized world, of vast armies of men surrounded by all the paraphernalia of war, transformed, in the space of one hundred and fifty days, into a vast army of citizens engaged in the blessed pursuits of peace. No argument in favor of free institutions and a republican form of government, so conclusive and potential as this, was ever before presented to the feelings and judgment of the nations of the earth. The important political problem of the nineteenth century was solved by our Civil War. Our Republic no longer appeared as an *experiment*, but as a *demonstration*.

The National navy has an equal claim to the gratitude of the loyal people of our country, for its services during the war were of incalculable value. It attracted less attention than the army, because our vessels of war were engaged chiefly in the blockade service, or as auxiliaries of the army along the rivers and sea-coasts. In that service, especially in the latter portion of it, the labors of the officers and seamen were arduous in the extreme; and there were occasions for the display of prowess and skill equal to any required in the open ocean service. A history of the part performed by our gun-boat squadron on the rivers would form a most marvellous chapter in the annals of the Civil War.

At the breaking out of hostilities, the navy was exceedingly weak, as we have observed on page 1463, and by its geographical disposition, was, for a

time, almost powerless, as we have already observed. It had been reduced during fifty years of peace to the smallest proportions, and was kept in existence only by the necessity of affording protection for the continually expanding commercial interests of the nation. Its men numbered only seven thousand six hundred at the beginning of 1861; and of its officers, three hundred and twenty-two proved treacherous in the day of trial, abandoned their flag, and entered the service of the enemies of their country. Under the able management of Mr. Fox, the energetic Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, the marine arm of the public service was speedily and wonderfully strengthened. Even while in its weakness, a decree went forth for the blockade of the Southern ports, in the face of the protests and menaces of foreign governments. Ingenuity and mechanical skill developed amazing inventions. The "Monitor," with its revolving turret, was perfected and changed the mode of naval warfare. "Rams" were constructed for river service. Large numbers of vessels were built; others were purchased; and men from the merchant marine were invited to officer and man them. Dock-yards were enlarged and filled with workmen. The places of the treasonable deserters were soon filled. Volunteers flocked to the ships, and the number of seven thousand six hundred men that composed our navy when the war broke out, had increased to fifty-one thousand before it was ended. During the four years of the war, no less than two hundred and eight war-vessels were constructed and fitted out, and four hundred and fourteen vessels were purchased and converted into war-ships. Of these, three hundred and thirteen were steamers. Many of them were iron-clads; and the aggregate cost was \$19,000,000.

The blockading service was performed with great vigor and success, under the triple stimulus of patriotism, duty, and the chances for personal emolument. While the British government professed to be neutral, swarms of swift steamers were fitted out by British merchants, and, laden with every kind of supplies for the insurgents, were sent to "run the blockade." The profits of such operations, if successful, were enormous, but the risks were equally so; and it is believed that a true balance-sheet would show that there were no profits left with these violators of law. Over fifteen hundred of these blockade-runners were captured or destroyed by our National vessels, during the war; and the aggregate value of property captured and condemned, as lawful prize, before November following the close of the war, was \$22,000,000. That sum was subsequently enlarged by new decisions. The value of the vessels so captured or destroyed, added to the value of goods in them, swelled the amount of loss to the British blockade-runners, to full \$30,000,000.

There is a dark chapter in the history of the Civil War, over which the writer would gladly draw the veil of forgetfulness, if it were possible. It relates to Union prisoners and their treatment. Soon after hostilities commenced and there were captives taken, the question was considered by President Lincoln's cabinet, Can the Government exchange prisoners with rebels against its authority, without acknowledging them as belligerents? Humanity took precedence of the law of nations, and an arrangement was made for an exchange. The business went on successfully until it was violently interrupted by Jefferson Davis at near the close of 1862. His anger had been kindled because of the employment of negroes in the military service, by the National Government; also by some proceedings of General Butler at New Orleans, already noticed. He first issued the savage proclamation (December 23, 1862) mentioned on page 1576, ordering Butler, and all commissioned officers serving under him, to be hanged, when caught, without trial, as outlaws. This was followed (January 12, 1863) by another proclamation, in which he announced his determination to deliver all officers of the National army commanding negro troops that might be captured after that date, to the respective State authorities to be hanged, and to treat those troops as rebels against their masters. The government paused. In Congress, measures for retaliation were proposed; but humanity and not policy bore sway, and such measures were not adopted. The exchange of prisoners, however, was interrupted; for the Confederate Commissioner, under instructions from Davis, refused to consider captive colored troops as prisoners of war. In several instances no quarter had been given them, in battle or afterward; and the black flag was carried against officers commanding them. And when, in August, 1863, the National Commissioner (Meredith) demanded that negro troops and their officers should be treated as prisoners of war, the Confederate Commissioner (Ould) replied: "We will die in the last ditch before giving up the right to send slaves back into slavery." That determination, acted upon by Davis and his associates, caused an absolute cessation of the exchange of prisoners, for the Government would not be unjust toward any class of its defenders, especially the weaker. The consequence was that the number and sufferings of the Union prisoners fearfully increased, and the horrors of the prisons and prison-pens at Richmond, Salisbury, Charleston, Millen, and Andersonville occurred.

Well-supported facts seem fairly to warrant the unpleasant conclusion, that Davis's proclamations were made by him for the purpose of obstructing exchanges, that the Union prisoners might, by long and acute suffering, be rendered physically and mentally useless as soldiers thereafter. *The United States Sanitary Commission* appointed a committee, of which the eminent

Dr. Valentine Mott of New York was chairman, to ascertain by inquiry and observation, as far as possible, into the matter of alleged cruelty to Union prisoners. They reported in September, 1864, saying: "It is the same story everywhere; prisoners of war treated worse than convicts; shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in out-door inclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field; unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous; compelled to live on floors often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it; compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench; hemmed in by a fatal dead-line, and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy, and suicide; sick, of disease (so congruous in character as to appear and spread, like the plague) caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with a few remedies, little care and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies too resentful either to have pity or to show mercy. These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been, and are now being, disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. No supposition of negligence, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many, and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes. *The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that these privations and sufferings have been designedly inflicted* by the military and other authorities of the rebel government, and cannot have been due to causes which such authorities could not control." One of the chief instruments employed in the infliction of cruelties upon Union prisoners was Brigadier-General John H. Winder, an inciter of the mob which attacked the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore. So notorious for his cruel acts had he become, that when (at the age of seventy years) he was sent to Georgia to carry on his horrid work at Andersonville, the *Richmond Examiner* exclaimed: "Thank God Richmond has, at last, got rid of old Winder! God have mercy upon those to whom he has been sent!"

Testimony given by Confederates themselves, confirm the statements made by the prisoners. So early as September, 1862, Augustus R. Wright, chairman of a committee of the Confederate house of representatives, made a report on the prisons at Richmond confining Union captives, to George W. Randolph, then the Confederate Secretary of War, in which report it

was said that the state of things was "terrible beyond description;" that "the committee could not stay in the room over a few seconds;" that a change *must* be made, and that "*the committee makes the report to the Secretary of War, and not to the House, because, in the latter case, it would be printed, and, for the honor of the nation, such things must be kept secret.*" In December, 1863, Henry S. Foote, a member of the Confederate House of Representatives, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of inquiry concerning the alleged ill-treatment of Union prisoners. His humane resolution was voted down. In the course of his remarks in its favor, Mr. Foote read testimony which, he said, was on record in the Confederate War Department, to prove that the charges of cruelty were true. Referring to Northrup, the Confederate Commissary-General, he said: "This man has placed our government in the attitude charged by the enemy, *and has attempted to starve the prisoners in our hands.*" He cited an elaborate report made by the Commissary-General to the Secretary of War (Seddon), in which he used this significant language: "For the subsistence of a human Yankee carcase, a vegetable diet is the most proper," the terrible meaning of which is obvious. Foote, also, in a letter written at Montreal, in the spring of 1865, concerning the escape of Streight and his men from Libby Prison, by mining, declared "that a government officer of respectability" told him "*that a systematic scheme was on foot for subjecting these unfortunate men to starvation.*" He further declared that Northrup's proposition was "endorsed by Seddon, the Secretary of War," who said substantially in that endorsement, that "the time had arrived for retaliation upon the prisoners of war of the enemy." In that letter Foote proved (1) that the starving of Union prisoners was known to the Confederate authorities; (2) that the Confederate Commissary-General proposed it; (3) that the Confederate Secretary of War approved and officially endorsed it; (4) that the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange knew it; and (5) that the Confederate House of Representatives knew of it, and endeavored to prevent an investigation. Foote said the positive proof was in the War Department. A greater portion of these documents were burned when the Confederate Government fled from Richmond. Such is the testimony of one of the legislators of the Confederacy, who, it may be presumed, knew, personally, the facts of the case. And it is a matter of record, that a committee of the "United States Christian Commission," appeared before the lines of Lee's army and sought access to the Union prisoners in Richmond and on Belle Isle, in the James River there, to afford them relief, with the understanding that similar commissions would be allowed to visit Confederate captives. But they were not allowed to pass, because, as Confederate witnesses testify, the authorities

at Richmond dared not let the outside world know, from competent witnesses, the horrible truths which such a visit would have revealed. But General Robert E. Lee (whose family resided on Franklin street in Richmond, from the rear gallery of whose residence he could, with his field-glass, have looked into the faces of the starving and freezing prisoners on Belle Isle, and who, after the autumn of 1863, was never a hundred miles from that city) testified before the National "Committee on Reconstruction," in February, 1866, that he was not aware of any bad treatment suffered by Union prisoners—not aware that any of them died of cold and starvation—that no report was ever made to him of the sad condition of Union prisoners anywhere—that he never knew who was in command at Andersonville, Salisbury, and other gathering-places of Union prisoners, until after the war, and that he "knew nothing in the world" of the alleged cruelties about which complaints had been made!

When the starvation plan had succeeded in reducing forty thousand Union prisoners to skeletons, generally no better for service than so many dead men, a proposition was made by the Confederate authorities for a resumption of exchanges. Again humanity took precedence of expediency, and these poor creatures in Confederate prisons were exchanged for as many prisoners who had been well fed and otherwise comfortably provided for in the North. This was attested by the Confederate Commissioner of Exchange, who, in a letter to General Winder, from City Point, where exchanges had been resumed, said exultingly: "The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. *We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw.*"

Let us turn from the consideration of this unpleasant subject to that of the noble efforts made to relieve the suffering of soldiers in the field, the camp, and the hospital. It is just, however, before so doing, to ask the reader to remember, always, that the great body of the *Southern people* were not only entirely guiltless of the proven cruelties practised toward the Union prisoners, but were kept in profound ignorance of them. The responsibility rests upon the few selfish political leaders in the great conspiracy and insurrection, from the beginning to the end, who, whenever it suited their purposes, defied all moral and civil law. To these men belongs the responsibility of involving this happy and prosperous nation in a most destructive Civil War, with all its awful consequences; and to them our brethren of the late slave-labor States are indebted for whatever evil reports have affected them. A reign of terror under the Richmond despotism crushed out all freedom of speech and action in the Confederacy, as Castle Thunder might testify. The *people* of the South, as good, benevolent,

humane, refined, kind-hearted and Christian-like in character and deeds as any on the face of the earth, have unjustly suffered reproaches because of the wrongs committed by self-constituted political leaders who misrepresented them.

The arrangements by the Government for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers of the National army were ample and complete. When the war closed there were two hundred and four general hospitals fully equipped, with a capacity of nearly 137,000 beds. Besides these there were numerous temporary and flying hospitals, the former in camps and on vessels, and the latter on battle-fields. The report of the Surgeon-General (Joseph K. Barnes), at the close of the war, showed that from the beginning of hostilities in 1861, to July 1, 1865, there had been treated in the general hospitals alone, 1,057,423 cases, among whom the average rate of mortality was only eight per cent.; much smaller than had ever been known before in any army. That of the army of the United States in the war with Mexico was a little over ten per cent. Of the British in the Crimean campaign, it was nearly twenty per cent., and of their French allies there still greater.

The low rate of mortality in the Union army was due to several favorable circumstances, the chief of which was the employment, by the Government, of a sufficient number of skillful surgeons; a bountiful provision in all the hospitals of every necessary; the beneficent labors of the two powerful and popular organizations known as the *United States Sanitary Commission* and the *United States Christian Commission*, and the untiring labors of women everywhere. The latter worked with tenderness and devotion in hospitals, in camps, and even on or near the field of battle, as most efficient nurses. By their presence they continually brought images of home to the sick or wounded soldier, and cheered and consoled him with healing words more efficacious sometimes than the apothecary's medicine. To this catalogue of hygienic instrumentalities, must be added the potent and benevolent influences of a hundred thousand army chaplains. As a class they were faithful servants of their Divine Master, and ever ready to "minister to a mind diseased." They formed a trusted link between the soldier and his home—a ladder for the angels of thought and affection between his Bethel and his heaven on Earth—telling the bereaved, in written words, of the joy and hope of loved ones at the gate of death; or, better still, sending to anxious hearts the balm of consolation in sweet epistles giving the cheering news of convalescence. The most profound respect and gratitude are due by the people of our land to the chaplains of the hospitals of the army and navy.

Allusion has been made on page 1511 to the origin of the *United States Sanitary Commission*, and to the *United States Christian Commission*. On the 16th of June, 1861, the Secretary of War (Mr. Cameron) issued an order appointing Henry W. Bellows, A. D. Bache, Jeffries Wyman, W. H. Van Buren, R. C. Wood, George W. Cullum and Alexander Shiras, in conjunction with such others as might associate with them, a "Commission of Inquiry and Advice, in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces." The functions of the Commission are indicated by the title. They appointed a board of managers, with Dr. Bellows (who may be regarded as the founder of the Commission) at its head. He submitted a plan of organization, to which the President and Secretary of War gave their sanction by affixing their signatures to it, and it became the constitution of the Commission. Its seal bore the words, "UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION," with the date of its organization. Upon the face of the seal was an escutcheon, bearing the figure of Mercy, winged, with the symbol of Christianity upon her bosom and a cup of consolation in her hand, coming down from the clouds to visit wounded soldiers on the battlefield. Frederick Law Olmstead was chosen resident secretary, and became the general manager of the affairs of the Commission.

This Commission went to work most vigorously, to supplement the Government deficiencies in supplying comforts for the sick and wounded. They appealed to the people, and the response was marvellous. Supplies and money flowed in in sufficient volume to meet all demands. All over the country, men, women and children, singly and collectively, were working for it, and contributing to it. Fairs were held in large cities, which turned immense sums of money into its treasury. With these funds it supplied the sick and wounded with delicacies, ice, stimulants, fruits, etc., and with trained nurses, while the Government supplied all regular rations. In a single fair, in the city of New York, the net receipts were \$1,181,500. In the little city of Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, whose population was then about 16,000, the net profits of the fair were over \$16,000. Branches of the Commission were established; agents were employed; corps of nurses were organized; ambulances, army-wagons and steamboats of its own were employed in the transportation of the sick and wounded, and supplies. It followed the army closely in all campaigns. Its ear, always open, caught the first sounds of battle everywhere, and before the smoke of conflict was lifted from the field, there was the Sanitary Commission, like an omnipresent minister of good, with wagons, supplies, tents and nurses, ready to afford instant relief. Like a guardian angel it was always at the side of the soldier in moments of greatest need. When the war ceased, and the

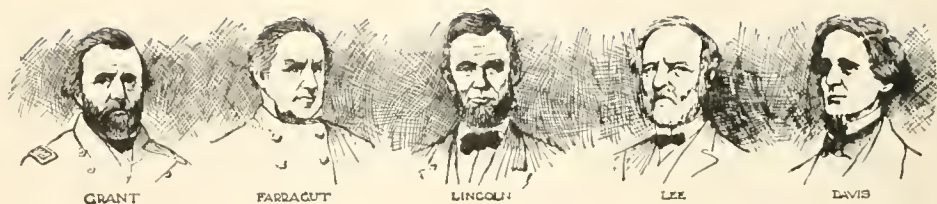
record of the work of the Sanitary Commission was made plain, it was found that the loyal people of the land had *given* to it supplies valued at about *five million dollars*.

The *United States Christian Commission* was a kindred organization, working in harmony with the *United States Sanitary Commission*, and performed great labors for the spiritual and temporal good of the soldiers. It had its origin in the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, and was first suggested by Vincent Colyer, an artist of that city, and an earnest worker in useful fields of benevolence. He, with Frank W. Ballard and Mrs. Dr. Harris, who represented the Ladies' Aid Society of Philadelphia, went to Washington City immediately after the first battle at Bull's Run, to do Christian work in the camps and hospitals there. Every facility for visiting the camps were given to Mr. Colyer by the military authorities, and they even gave him permission to go to the Confederate camps if they would allow him to do so. He distributed bibles, tracts and hymn-books among the soldiers, held prayer-meetings, and labored most zealously, in many ways, for their spiritual good. Finally Mr. Colyer suggested the combination of all the Young Men's Christian Associations in the land, in the formation of a society similar to that of the *United States Sanitary Commission*. It was acted upon in September, 1861, when arrangements were made for holding a National Convention of such associations. A convention assembled in the city of New York on the 14th of November, and the *United States Christian Commission* was organized, with George H. Stuart of Philadelphia as president. Its specific work was to be chiefly for the moral and religious welfare of the soldiers, which was conducted by means of oral instruction and the circulation of the bible and other proper books, with pamphlets, newspapers, etc., among the men in hospitals, camps, and ships.

This noble Commission, of which Vincent Colyer was the real founder, began earnest work at once, on the same general plan of the other Commission. It did not confine its labors wholly to spiritual and intellectual ministrations, but also to the distribution of a vast amount of food, hospital stores, delicacies, and clothing. It, too, followed the great armies and co-operated efficiently with the chaplains of the army and navy, by supplying the soldiers and sailors with the scriptures and a vast number and variety of other good books. Chapels for religious labors and public worship were erected at permanent camps, and in many ways there was cast about the soldier a salutary religious influence. Money and supplies came to the Commission as a free-will offering from the patriotic people, mostly collected by the women of various denominations of the Christian Church, and amounted in value to *six million dollars*.

While the two great organizations here noticed were at work, others, in large numbers, but less conspicuous, were laboring for the same holy purpose. Associations for the relief of the freedmen, and for sailors, also for promoting enlistments for the military and naval service, were organized; and everywhere the most active and disinterested benevolence was manifested. High authority has said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." If so, then the loyal people of our land were eminently blessed; for it is estimated that through these two great Commissions, various associations, and by private contributions, they made free gifts of their substance to the amount of *five hundred million dollars*.

While these associations were at work for the benefit of the Union soldiers, similar efforts, though not on so grand a scale, were put forth by the benevolent-minded in the slave-labor States for the benefit of the Confederate soldiers. They labored in the good work most zealously to the extent of their ability, and conferred vast benefits upon the sick and wounded soldiers of the Confederate army. We have no special reports of the result of their labors; but we know that it was a great blessing to the recipients of the kindly care, especially of the women of the South. Among the variety of organizations for benevolent purposes was one called *The Confederate Association for the Relief of Maimed Soldiers*. The object of that association was to supply artificial limbs gratuitously to soldiers who had lost their natural ones. An annual subscription of \$10 constituted a member; of \$300, a life-member; and of \$100, an honorary director. Upon a certificate of membership, before me, is a rude wood-cut representation of the proposed seal of the Confederate States.



CHAPTER CXXXIII.

Reorganization of the Union—President Johnson's Plan—Thirteenth Amendment—Character of the President—Justice for the Freedmen—Motives of Lincoln and Johnson Contrasted—A Pitiful Trick—Action in the Disorganized States—The Test Oath—" Reconstruction " Committee—President, Offended, Makes War on Congress—His Political Tour—His Vetoes—The President and Secretary Stanton—French Troops in Mexico—Napoleon's Designs and Perfidy—British Interference—Suffrage in the District of Columbia—President Threatened with Impeachment—Acts of Congress Vetoes and Passed—Extra Sessions—Unlawful Conduct of the President.

AFTER the terrible convulsions produced by the Civil War, by which State governments had been paralyzed, a hoary and deep-rooted social system had been overthrown, and throughout a number of the commonwealths of the Republic there had been a disruption of every kind of business, the powers of the National government were invoked to bring about a general reorganization of the disorganized elements, political, social, and industrial. There was nothing to be *reconstructed*, for nothing worth preserving had been *destroyed*. No State, as a component part of the Republic, had been severed from the others, for secession was an impossibility. When the war ended, the States, geographically and politically, remained as they were before it began. The insurrection against the authority of the National Government only placed the constitutions of some of the States in a condition of suspended animation. They needed only the stimulant of competent official authority exercised by the National Government to reanimate them. All the States were politically equal—living members of the great Commonwealth, before, during, and at the close of the Civil War. Some of them, incapacitated for healthful functional action, were awaiting resuscitation at the hands of the only healer, the National Government. To that resuscitation—that reorganization and fitting them for active life—the General Government soon directed its efforts.

President Johnson took a preliminary step toward reorganization, on the 29th of April, 1865, when he proclaimed the removal of restrictions upon commercial intercourse between all the States. A month later (May 29) he issued a proclamation stating the terms by which the people of the paralyzed

States, with specified exceptions, might receive full amnesty and pardon, and be reinvested with the right to exercise the functions of citizenship, supposed to have been destroyed by participation in the insurrection. This was soon followed by the appointment by the President of provisional governors for seven of those States which had formed the original fabric known as the "Confederate States of America," clothed with authority to assemble citizens in convention who had taken the amnesty oath, with power to reorganize State governments, and secure the election of representatives in the National Congress. The plan was to restore to the States named their former position in the Union without any provision for securing to the freedmen the right to the exercise of citizenship which the amendment to the National Constitution, then before the State legislatures, would justly entitle them to. This amendment, known as the XIIIth, was adopted by Congress early in 1865, and was as follows:

"SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment was adopted by a large majority. When the result of the vote was known, the Republican members of the House of Representatives instantly sprang to their feet and applauded with cheers and clapping of hands. The spectators in the crowded galleries waved their hats and made the chamber ring with enthusiastic plaudits. Hundreds of ladies rose in their seats in the galleries and gave emphasis to their plaudits by waving their handkerchiefs and participating in the general demonstration of enthusiasm, and added to the intense excitement of a scene that will long be remembered by those who were fortunate enough to witness it. The amendment was sent to the several State legislatures for ratification; and on the 18th of December following, the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward) declared that it had, by such ratification, become a part of the fundamental law of the land.

When Andrew Johnson was inaugurated President, there were painful apprehensions among men who knew him most intimately, that he would not be faithful to the trust reposed in him by the loyal people of the land. Notwithstanding the strength of our government had been made manifest by the shock of Civil War which it had survived, it was equally manifest

that it was surrounded with great perils. A pilot was needed at the helm of the ship of state possessed of a combination of moral and intellectual forces of a rare order—sound morality, strong and unwavering convictions, firmness of will, sobriety of conduct, calmness of temper, a thorough knowledge of men, an accurate and impartial judgment, a willingness to take counsel, a clear perception of righteousness, and the acuteness of a true statesman. Circumstances had occurred which justly created a doubt in the public mind whether the new President possessed all these qualities, so requisite at that critical time, and these doubts soon became settled convictions. His total disregard of the highest interests of the freedmen, and the fact that the President was making haste to pardon a large number of those who had been active in the service of the Confederates and would exercise a controlling influence in the States which he was equally in haste to reorganize on his own plan, startled the loyal men of the country, and made them doubt the sincerity of his vehement declaration of intentions to punish the leading enemies of our Government. To a delegation from New Hampshire, who waited upon him soon after his inauguration, he said: "Treason is a crime, and must be punished as a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven. It is a crime before which all other crimes sink into insignificance." Such, and even more severe language was used by the President when speaking of the leading Confederates; and, as we have seen, he charged Jefferson Davis and others with being accessories in the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and offered large rewards for their arrest. It was feared by some that the President would deal too harshly with the offenders; but events soon dispelled the illusion.

The poor freedmen relied with bright hopes upon the President's promise to be their "Moses" in leading them completely out of bondage; but they soon found that he was unwilling to do more than secure their personal freedom. He was unwilling to invest them with civil rights, which deprivation he knew would virtually remand them to slavery. The political party which had emancipated them and elevated Mr. Johnson to his high position, felt that justice, not expediency, should be the rule in the readjustment of the affairs of the Republic; and it was demanded, as an act of National honor, that the freedman when made a citizen by the Constitution, should have equal civil and political rights and privileges with other citizens, such as the elective franchise. In the spring of 1864, President Lincoln suggested to the governor of Louisiana, the propriety of giving that franchise to the colored people. "They would probably keep," he said, almost prophetically, "in some trying time to come, the jewel of Liberty in

the family of freedom." For an ignoble purpose, President Johnson proposed to his provisional governor of Mississippi, to give the franchise to such of the freedmen as could read the National Constitution and possessed property worth two hundred and fifty dollars. He well knew that an extremely small number could avail themselves of the privilege, as the laws of Mississippi made it a punishable offence to teach a colored person to read ; and in the condition of slavery, not one could hold property. It was a pitiful trick, which he was not ashamed to avow. In his letter to the governor, he said : " Do this, and, as a consequence, the radicals (in other words the most earnest Republicans), who are wild upon negro suffrage, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations with the Union."

Within a hundred days after his inauguration, President Johnson took issue with the Republican party upon vital points of principle and policy ; and at the close of 1865, it was plain to the comprehension of sagacious observers, that the Chief Magistrate was more friendly to the late enemies of his country than consistency with his professions, or the safety of the Republic, would allow. It was soon perceived that politicians in the North who had sympathized with the Confederates during the war, and the newspapers in their interest which had advocated the cause of the insurgents, had assumed a belligerent tone toward Congress and the loyal people, which greatly disturbed the latter by unpleasant forebodings.

In the meantime measures had been taken for perfecting peaceful relations among the whole people of the Republic, by a revival of industrial pursuits and a restoration of harmony of interests. The order for a blockade of the Southern ports was rescinded late in June (1865); most of the restrictions upon inter-State commerce were removed in August ; State prisoners were paroled in October ; and on the first day of December, the first important measure adopted, after the assembling of Congress, was the repeal of the act suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

During that period (June to December), Johnson's provisional governors had been diligent in carrying out his plan of reorganization before Congress should meet, and, possibly, interfere with it. Before the first of December five of the disorganized States had ratified the XIIIth amendment of the Constitution, cited on page 1703. They had, also, caused the formation of constitutions for their respective States and the election of representatives in the National Congress. The President had hurried on his work, by directing the provisional governors to resign their powers into the hands of others who had been elected under the new constitutions. Some of these governors-elect had been active participants in the insurrection ; and some

of the Congressmen-elect in these States had been, it was said, active workers against the Government. These facts greatly disturbed the loyal people. They had witnessed with great anxiety the evident usurpations of power by the President, the exercise of which, as he had done, belonged exclusively to the functions of the representatives of the people in Congress assembled. The prescriptions of the Constitution are clear on that point. Yet the people waited patiently for the meeting of Congress in December, with the quieting knowledge that a majority of loyal men would be there, and that each House had the right to judge of the qualifications of its own members. It was a settled belief that disloyal men would not be allowed to enter either House over the bar of a test-oath prescribed by law, passed on the 22d of July, 1862. That law required every member to make oath that he had not "voluntarily borne arms against the United States since he had been a citizen thereof," or "voluntarily given aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in hostilities thereto," and had never "yielded voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto."

The subject of reorganization was among the first business of the Thirty-ninth Congress which assembled on the 4th of December, 1865. On the first day of the session, by a vote of 133 against 36, Congress agreed to a joint resolution to appoint a joint committee to be composed of nine members of the House and six of the Senate, to "inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether they, or any of them, are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time, by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received in either House from any of the so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representatives of the said States, shall be referred to the said committee." This body was known by the misnamed "*Reconstruction Committee*." It should have been "*Reorganization Committee*."

This action of Congress was a virtual condemnation of the President's usurpations. It was a legitimate interference of the representatives of the people with his chosen policy of reorganization, and he was highly offended. He soon manifested open and violent hostility to the legislative branch of the Government, and maintained that position during the whole of his administration. In a speech to the populace of the capital on the 22d of February, 1866—a speech which every good American would gladly blot from memory and from the records of our country, if possible—the President, evidently under the malign influence of an unfortunate habit, for-

getting the dignity of his station, and insensible to the gravity of the question at issue, actually denounced by name leading members of Congress, and the Republican party which had given him their generous confidence. In that speech he used slang phrases in speaking of public men, such as "dead duck," and exhibited a recklessness of assertion which no sober statesman would have uttered. The American people felt humiliated by this exhibition of the weakness of their Chief Magistrate.

But this exhibition was a small matter compared with what occurred later in the year (August and September, 1866) when the President and a part of his cabinet, with the pretext of honoring the memory of Senator Douglas by being present at the dedication of a monument to his memory erected at Chicago, on the 6th of September, made a political tour by a circuitous way through several States, to that city and beyond. He harangued the people by the way, in language utterly unbecoming the Chief Magistrate of a nation, and attempted to sow the dangerous seeds of sedition, by denouncing Congress as an illegal body because some of the disorganized States were not represented in it; declaring that it deserved no respect from the people, and that a majority of the members were traitors, "trying to break up the Government." That journey of the President, so disgraceful in all its features—its low partisan object, its immoral performances, and its pitiful results—forms a dismal paragraph in the history of the Republic.

That tour was suggested and its performances were inspired by the gathering in convention, at Philadelphia, on the 14th of August (1866), chiefly of men who had been engaged in the insurrection, and their sympathizers at the North. Their object was to form a new party, with President Johnson as their standard-bearer; but so discordant were the elements gathered there, that no one was allowed to debate questions of public



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interest, for fear of producing a disruption and the consequent failure of the scheme. It did utterly fail. Soon afterward a convention of loyal men from the South was held at Philadelphia, in which representative Republicans in the North participated. The President's journey being wholly for a partisan purpose, members of the latter convention followed in his track, making speeches in many places in support of the measures of Congress for effecting reorganization. They applied the antidote where the President had administered poison, and neutralized its effects.

So disgraceful was the conduct of the President when at Cleveland and St. Louis, in the attitude of a mere demagogue making a tour for a partisan purpose, under a false pretense, that the Common Council of Cincinnati, on his return journey, refused to accord him a public reception. The Common Council of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, did the same; and when, on the 15th of September, Mr. Johnson and his party returned to the Capital, the country felt a relief from a sense of deep mortification.

Having, soon after the meeting of Congress, laid aside the mask of assumed friendship for those who had labored most earnestly for the suppression of the insurrection and for the good of the freedmen, the President used the veto power—his most efficient weapon—in trying to thwart the representatives of the people in their efforts to reorganize the disorganized States, and to quickly secure a full and permanent restoration of the Union on the basis of equal and exact justice. In February, 1866, he vetoed an act for enlarging the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been established for the relief of freedmen, refugees, and for the cultivation of abandoned lands. In March he vetoed an act known as the Civil Rights Law, which was intended to secure to *all* citizens, without regard to color or previous condition of slavery, equal civil rights in the Republic. These acts became laws in spite of his veto, by the Constitutional vote of two-thirds of each House in their favor. The President's uncompromising warfare upon the legislative branch of the Republic, disgusted his ministers, who could not agree with him, and they resigned with the exception of Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War. The friends of the Republic urged him to remain, believing his retention of the bureau at that critical period in the life of the nation would be conducive to the public benefit. He did so, and became the object of the mad President's bitter hatred.

Congress worked assiduously in efforts to perfect the reorganization of the Republic; and on the 29th of July, after a long and laborious session, adjourned. On the 2d of April, the President, in a proclamation, had formally declared the Civil War to be at an end; and the first fruits of the Congressional plan of reorganization was seen by the restoration of the

State of Tennessee to the Union, six days before the adjournment of the National Legislature. Meanwhile notable events in the foreign relations of the Government had occurred. The Emperor of the French had been informed by Secretary Seward that the continuation of French troops in Mexico was not agreeable to the United States; and on the 5th of April (1866) Napoleon's Minister for Foreign Affairs gave assurances to our Government that those troops would be withdrawn within a specified time. This was done; and the Grand Duke Maximilian, of Austria, whom Louis Napoleon had, by military power, placed on a throne in our neighboring republic, with the title of Emperor, was deserted by the perfidious ruler of France. The deceived and betrayed Maximilian, after struggling against the native republican government for awhile, was captured and shot; and his loving wife, Carlotta, overwhelmed by her misfortunes and grief, became a hopeless lunatic. Such was the sorrowful ending of one of the schemes of the Emperor of the French for the gratification of his ambition. He had itched to aid the Confederates, with a hope that the severance of our Union would give him an opportunity to successfully defy the "Monroe Doctrine," and extend the domination of the Latin race and the Latin church on the American continent, as well as monarchical institutions. As a pretext for sending soldiers to our frontiers, primarily to be ready to assist the enemies of the Republic should expediency warrant the act, the Emperor of the French picked a quarrel with Mexico, overturned its republican government, established a monarchy and supported it by French bayonets until the strength of our Union was made manifest to him.

The British ministry, too, as we have seen, itched to help the Confederates destroy our Republic, and had done so in a large degree, until they were satisfied of the enormous reserved power of our Union against the combined and cowardly attacks of European powers and of internal foes, when they abandoned the insurgents whom they had deceived with false promises, and sneeringly called their political organization the "so-called Confederate States of America." Notwithstanding this faithlessness to their traditions, and fairly implied, if not absolutely stated, treaty stipulations on the part of the rulers of Great Britain, our Government was faithful to them all. When, in the spring of 1866, a military organization of Irish residents in our country, known as the Fenian Brotherhood, associated for the avowed purpose of freeing Ireland from British domination, made a movement, in May and June, for a formidable invasion of the neighboring British Province of Canada, the United States Government, instead of investing them with "belligerent rights," was true to its pledges to Great Britain concerning neutrality laws, interfered, and suppressed the warlike movement.

But these are now things of the past, and should not be held in remembrance with any unkind feelings. At about the same time a peaceful bond of union was formed with Great Britain, by the successful establishment of permanent telegraphic communication between England and the United States. An account of the first efforts toward this end will be given hereafter.

Notwithstanding the State elections in the autumn of 1866 indicated the decided approval by the people of the United States of the measures adopted by Congress for the restoration of the Union, the President persisted in his warfare with the National Legislature, and upon members of his cabinet who would not approve of his acts. The majority in Congress, feeling strengthened by the popular verdict upon their conduct, went steadily forward in perfecting measures for the restoration of the Union. They took steps for restraining the action of the President, who, it was manifest, had determined to carry out his own policy of reorganization, in defiance of Congress. Unmindful of his conduct, that body plainly indicated their general policy concerning suffrage, by passing a bill on the 14th of December (1866), by a large majority of both Houses, for granting the elective franchise in the District of Columbia (over whose affairs the National Legislature has direct control) to persons "without any distinction on account of color or race." The President vetoed the bill on the 7th of January, 1867, when it was immediately re-enacted by the constitutional vote of both Houses in its favor.

The course of the President in continually opposing his veto and casting obstacles in the way of the dispatch of legislative business, now appeared so essentially and purely factious, and was, withal, so mischievous, that it was resolved to make an effort to put an end to it. On the same day when Johnson vetoed the District of Columbia Suffrage bill, Mr. Ashley, a representative from Ohio, arose in his place, and charged "Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and Acting-President of the United States, with the commission of acts which, in the estimation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached." Mr. Ashley offered the following specifications, in which he charged him with usurpations and violations of law: (1) in that he has corruptly used the appointing power; (2) in that he has corruptly used the pardoning power; (3) in that he has corruptly used the veto power; (4) in that he has corruptly disposed of public property of the United States; and (5) in that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Ashley also offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to make inquiries on the subject. This resolution was adopted by 137 to 38.

forty-five members not voting. It was the first movement in the matter of the impeachment of the President, which resulted in his trial in May, 1868.

At a former session of Congress, bills were passed for the admission of the Territories of Colorado and Nebraska, as States of the Union. The President had interposed. Now similar bills were passed prescribing, as a preliminary to admission, a provision in their constitutions granting impartial suffrage to all citizens, and the ratification of the amendment to the National Constitution. As usual the President vetoed them; when that for the admission of Nebraska was passed over his veto. Colorado was compelled to wait ten years and six months for admission, while Nebraska took its place in the galaxy of States on the first of March (1867), making the thirty-eighth State.

An act was now passed for the purpose of limiting the authority of the President in making official appointments and removals from office. Among other provisions of the act was one that took from him the power to remove a member of his cabinet without permission of the Senate; declaring that they should hold office "for and during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the consent of the Senate." This law, known as the "Tenure of Office Act," was vetoed by the President, when it was passed over his negative by a large majority. Another bill was passed and vetoed and was made a law notwithstanding, repealing so much of an act passed in July, 1862, as gave the President power to grant amnesty and pardon to those who had been engaged in rebellion. A bill was also passed, with the same opposition of the President, for the military government of the disorganized States, which were divided into five military districts, Virginia comprising the *first*; North and South Carolina, the *second*; Georgia, Florida and Alabama, the *third*; Mississippi and Arkansas, the *fourth*; and Louisiana and Texas, the *fifth*.

The Thirty-ninth Congress closed its sessions at mid-day, on the 4th of March, 1867, and twelve hours afterward the first session of the Fortieth Congress was begun. The country was greatly disquieted by the factious conduct of the President, which created painful forebodings of evil should that obstinate and angry man be left without restraint from March until December. The majority in Congress shared in this feeling, believing that the President was ready, if he should deem it expedient, to plunge the country into a revolution, and attempt, by a reactionary movement, to undo all that the war for the Union had done for the preservation of the Republic. For that reason, provision had been made by the Thirty-ninth Congress for the immediate assembling of the Fortieth on the expiration of its prece-

cessor. That first session continued until the 30th of March, when, with the same lack of confidence in the patriotism of Johnson, both Houses adjourned to meet on the 3d of July following.

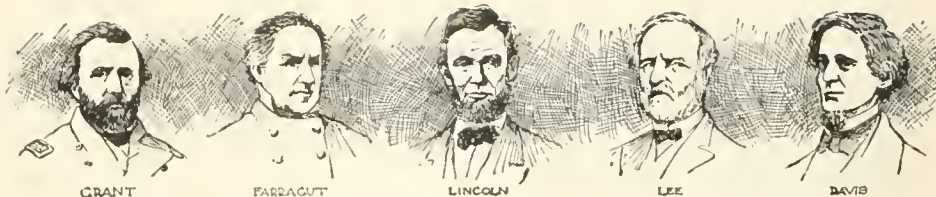
Among the acts of the expiring Congress was one for the establishment of a National Bureau of Education, which has become a most valuable auxiliary in the work of popular instruction. Also an act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States; and another for the abolition of peonage—a system of slavery—in the Territory of New Mexico and other parts of the United States wherever it might exist.

Congress reassembled on the 3d of July, and adjourned on the 20th to the 21st of November. The principal business of this short session was to remove impediments which President Johnson had cast in the way of the reorganization of the Union. A bill supplementary to the act of March, for the military government of the disorganized States, became a law, notwithstanding it was vetoed by the President; and it was hoped and believed that Johnson would refrain from further acts that were calculated to disturb the public peace and impede the prosperity of the country. This expectation was not realized. When the members of Congress had returned to their homes, the President proceeded, in defiance of the acts of that body, and in positive violation of the Tenure of Office Act, to remove the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton), and put General Grant in his place. On the 5th of August (1867) the President sent a note to Mr. Stanton, in which he said: "Grave public considerations constrain me to request your resignation as Secretary of War." Mr. Stanton, sharing in the general suspicion that the President contemplated reactionary measures in the absence of Congress in favor of the defeated enemies of the Republic, and was seeking a means for using the army for that purpose, immediately replied: "Grave public considerations constrain me to remain in the office of Secretary of War until the next meeting of Congress."

Only a week had elapsed after this correspondence, when Johnson directed General Grant to assume the position and duties of the Secretary of War. Grant, as a dutiful soldier, obeyed the commands of his superior. when Stanton, satisfied of the firmness and incorruptible patriotism of the general-in-chief of the armies, withdrew, under protest. This change was followed by such arbitrary acts on the part of the President, that the country was thoroughly alarmed. In the face of the most earnest protests of General Grant, in the War Office, Johnson removed Generals Sheridan and Sickles from the command of the Fifth and Second Military Districts. By this act the country was given to understand that the most faithful officers, who were able and willing to work for the speedy restoration of the Union.

would be deprived of the power to be useful. He also issued, in defiance of law, a proclamation of amnesty for nearly the whole white population of the Southern States. These, and other unlawful acts, made the loyal inhabitants impatient for the reassembling of Congress, upon whom they relied in that dark hour of seeming peril.

Patriotic men of the opposition party, and even personal friends of the erring President were amazed and mortified by his unwise conduct; and some of the latter charitably attributed these paroxysms of blind obstinacy to the effects of an unfortunate habit into which Mr. Johnson had fallen, and which appalled them at the time when he took the oath of office as Vice-President, in March, 1865. One of these friends—a distinguished politician—writing from Washington just after the removal of Sheridan and Sickles, said: "The President must be crazy. Does he suppose the country will much longer tolerate this unseemly warfare upon the Legislative branch of the Government? You and I know that he has not a single legitimate ground for his conduct, and that several of his acts are pure usurpations for which he may be impeached. It is neither just nor prudent for the Democratic party to countenance them; and it is in the highest degree impolitic for them to do so at this crisis. It is the best policy always to do right, for, in the long run, the right will prevail."



CHAPTER CXXXIV.

The President's Message Condemned—His Conduct Arraigned—Stanton Reinstated—Johnson against Grant—"Reconstruction" Acts—A High-Handed Measure—Impeachment of the President—Charges—Managers—Popular Excitement Trial and Verdict—Presidential Nominations—Congress Denounced by a Convention—Revolutionary Proposition—Grant and Colfax Elected—Amendment of the Constitution—Reorganization Completed—Amnesty—Military Rule Abandoned—Treaty with China—Policy toward the Indians Considered—Fifteenth Amendment—Financial Measure—Inauguration of Grant—His Cabinet—Retirement of President Johnson.

THE second session of the Fortieth Congress commenced on the 2d of December, 1867. The President's annual message was so offensive in tone and temper, that when the usual resolution to print it was offered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner took fire and vehemently denounced it as a "libel," an "insult to Congress," and an "incendiary document, calculated to stimulate the rebellion once more, and to provoke Civil War. It is a direct appeal," he said, "to the worst passions and the worst prejudices of those rebels who, being subdued on the battle-field, still resist, through the aid of the President of the United States. It is an evidence of a direct coalition between the President and the former rebels." Senator Wilson, wiser and less impulsive than his colleague, while he as decidedly condemned "the tone and temper and doctrines of the message," saying in calm and dignified language that the President seemed to "have forgotten that we have had any rebellion at all," and pointing out the flagrant inconsistency of his conduct, nevertheless opposed a departure from the ordinary practice of the Senate in ordering the President's Message to be printed, and it was done.

A majority of the Judiciary Committee, to whom the charges against the President had been referred, for inquiry, reported the following resolution on the 5th of December: "*Resolved*, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." In the course of the debate that ensued, Mr. Boutwell, of the majority of the Committee, submitted facts which proved that Mr. Johnson had long contemplated a desertion of the party that had elevated him; that while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated Vice-President of the Republic, he

had confidentially avowed to an old Democratic partisan with whom he had acted before the war, that he preferred the party opposed to the administration of Mr. Lincoln, and that the country could yet be saved from ruin through that party only. It was also proven that he and his friends had declared that his policy toward the enemies of his country and the freedmen before June, 1865, was only temporary and for a special object, and that he had since persistently pursued a course calculated to place the country under the control of those who had tried to destroy the Union. Notwithstanding this attitude of the President, so menacing to the good of the Republic, was well established, the House, hoping he might cease his impotent warfare upon Congress, hesitated to adopt extreme measures toward the erring Chief Magistrate, unless he should yet commit some flagrant act of disobedience to law. The resolution was, therefore, rejected by a decided majority.

A week later the President sent to Congress a message, in which he gave his reasons for the removal of Secretary Stanton. The reasons were not satisfactory; and, a month later (January 13, 1868), the Senate reinstated the former Secretary of War, when General Grant quietly retired from the office. This act enraged the President, and he reproached the general-in-chief for yielding to the implied commands of the Senate to retire. He charged him with having broken his promises; and Johnson tried to injure Grant's reputation as a citizen and a soldier. In the correspondence between them, which found its way to the public, a question of veracity between the President and the general-in-chief arose; and, finally, the latter felt compelled to say to the irate Chief Magistrate: "When my honor as a soldier and my integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from beginning to end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country." The President did not deny the truth of this damaging charge, and the correspondence ceased.

Congress now steadily advanced in the adoption of measures for the restoration of the Union on the basis of justice, by providing for conventions of the people in the disorganized States for forming new or revising old constitutions, and electing representatives in the National Legislature. They had also, by law, given enlarged powers to the general-in-chief for the administration of military government in those States, and had deprived the President of power to interfere in the matter, when Mr. Johnson startled the country by an act bolder in aspect than any he had yet attempted. It was the issuing of an order on the 21st of February (1868) directing Mr.

Stanton to vacate the office of Secretary of War; also another order to Adjutant-General Lorenzo B. Thomas, to enter and take the place of the deposed Secretary. These orders were officially communicated to the Senate on the same day, and drew from that body a resolution that the President had no authority, under the Constitution, for his act. Meanwhile Thomas had proceeded to the War Department and demanded the seals and the authority with which the President had invested him. Mr. Stanton, his official superior, refused to yield them, and ordered Thomas to return to the duties of his proper office. The President, satisfied that he would not be permitted to use military force to eject Mr. Stanton, did not attempt it, and that officer retained his place.

The patience and forbearance of Congress were now exhausted. This action of the President was such a flagrant violation of law and open defiance of the Legislature, that on the following day (February 22, 1868) the House of Representatives, by a vote of 126 to 47—an almost strictly party vote (only two Republicans voting with the minority)—“*Resolved*, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.” A week later, a committee of the House, appointed for the purpose, presented articles of impeachment, nine in number; and these, with slight alterations, were accepted. They charged (1) Unlawfully ordering the removal of Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War, in violation of the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act; (2) unlawfully appointing General Lorenzo B. Thomas, as Secretary of War *ad interim*; (3) substantially the same as the second charge, with the additional declaration that there was, at the time of the appointment of General Thomas, no vacancy in the office of the Secretary of War; (4) conspiring with one Lorenzo Thomas, and other persons to the House unknown, to prevent, by intimidation and threats, Mr. Stanton, the legally appointed Secretary of War, from holding office; (5) conspiring with General Thomas and others to hinder the execution of the Tenure of Office Act, and, in pursuance of this conspiracy, attempting to prevent Mr. Stanton from acting as Secretary of War; (6) conspiring with General Thomas and others to take forcible possession of the property in the War Department; (7) and (8) substantially the charge of conspiring to prevent the execution of the Tenure of Office Act, and for taking possession of the War Department; (9) charged that the President called before him the commander of the forces in the Department of Washington, and declared to him that a law, passed on the 30th of June, 1867, directing that “all orders and instructions relating to military operations, issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued by the General of the Army, and in case of his inability, through the

next in rank," was unconstitutional, and not binding upon the commander of the Department of Washington; the intent being to induce the commander to violate the law and to obey orders issued by the President directly.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, John A. Bingham of Ohio, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, James F. Wilson of Iowa, Thomas Williams of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois, were appointed managers of the impeachment case, on the part of the House of Representatives. The chief management of the case was intrusted to Mr. Butler. At this stage of the proceedings the Democratic members of the House, to the number of forty-five, entered a formal protest against the whole action in the matter.

On the 3d of March (1868) the managers presented two additional charges against the President, which were adopted by the House, as a part of the impeachment indictment. The first charged that the President had, by inflammatory speeches during his journey, already mentioned, attempted, with a design to cast aside the authority of Congress, to bring that body into disgrace, and to excite the odium and resentment of the people against Congress and the laws they enacted. The second charged that in August, 1866, the President, in a public speech at Washington, declared that Congress was not a body authorized by the Constitution to exercise legislative powers. They then specified many of the President's offences in endeavoring, by unlawful means, to prevent the execution of laws passed by Congress.

These preliminary proceedings toward impeachment filled the loyal heart of the nation with the most profound satisfaction. Letters and telegrams covered the desks of members of Congress, all urging the most speedy and vigorous action toward impeachment. Appended is a copy of a despatch from Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, which is a fair specimen of the tone of the communications and expressive of the feelings of the people. It is dated "Springfield, Illinois; Executive Mansion, February 22, 1868," and is as follows:

"The usurpations of Andrew Johnson have created a profound sensation in this State. His last act is that of a traitor. His treason must be checked. The duty of Congress seems plain. The people of Illinois, attached to the Union, I firmly believe demand his impeachment, and will heartily sustain such action by Congress. The peace of the country is not to be trifled with by this presumptuous demagogue. We know the National Congress will proceed wisely and cautiously; but let it proceed. Millions of loyal hearts

are panting to stand by the Stars and Stripes. Have no fear. All will be well. Liberty and order will again triumph."

On the 25th of February, Messrs. Stevens and Boutwell appeared before the Senate in behalf of the managers, and in the name of the people of the United States, impeached "Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors," and demanded of that body an order for the accused President to answer the impeachment. The Senate, by a provision of the National Constitution, composes a jury for the trial of such cases; and on the 5th of March (1868) it was organized as such, with Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase as president of the court. The accused was summoned to appear at the bar on the 7th; but the Senate was not formally opened as a High Court of Impeachment until the 13th, when he did so appear, by his counsel, who asked for a delay of forty days wherein to prepare an answer to the indictment. Ten days were granted, and the answer was presented on the 23d, when the House of Representatives, which was the accuser, solemnly denied every averment of that answer. Then the President's counsel asked for a postponement of the trial for thirty days, but only seven were allowed.

On the 30th of March the trial was begun. Public feeling was profoundly excited by the event, and there was danger that the reason and judgment of the Senate might be swayed by unwise influences. Fortunately there were men in that body whose prescience clearly comprehended the future, and they were governed by that more than by their feelings or the mandates of present expediency. All through the trial, these men counselled moderation, and their advice was heeded. They pointed out the danger, that a verdict of guilty might create greater evils than the foolish President could possibly inflict, in his comparatively helpless state.

When, after an examination of witnesses, which was concluded on the 22d of April; the presentation of the arguments of counsel, which continued until the 5th of May, and the debates, which consumed twenty days more, the votes of the fifty-four Senators present were taken on the verdict, *thirty-five* of them were for conviction, and *nineteen* were for acquittal. Some of the latter votes were by Republicans. As two-thirds of the votes were necessary for conviction, the President was acquitted by one vote.

This verdict caused Secretary Stanton to send a letter to the President, informing him that as the resolution of the Senate reinstating the Secretary had not been supported by two-thirds of that body present and voting upon the articles of impeachment, he had relinquished the office; whereupon Mr. Johnson nominated General John M. Schofield to be Mr. Stanton's successor. The President, in his communication nominating General Schofield, said he

was to succeed "E. M. Stanton, removed." The Senate adopted the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas, the order of the President removing Secretary Stanton from office was unconstitutional and illegal; but on account of Mr. Stanton having, on Tuesday, relinquished said office, therefore *Resolved*, That the Senate do advise and consent to the appointment of General Schofield."

The brilliancy and intrinsic value of General Grant's military services in behalf of the Republic, and his firmness and patriotism in defeating the designs of President Johnson at the capital, endeared him to the loyal people; and on the 19th of June (1868) the Republicans, in National Convention assembled at Chicago, nominated him for President of the United States, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice-President. On the 4th of July following, a National Convention of representatives of the Democratic party met in Tammany Hall, in the city of New York, and nominated Horatio Seymour of the State of New York for President, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. Wade Hampton, N. B. Forrest, and other prominent Confederate leaders, were members of that Convention, and were controlling architects of the platform there adopted, in which the acts of Congress for the reorganization of the Union were declared to be "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void."

A few days before the meeting of the Convention, General Blair, the nominee for Vice-President, wrote a letter to James O. Brodhead, to be used at the Convention. In that letter he said, in contemplation of the election of the nominees: "There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President-elect to declare these acts of Congress null and void; compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South; disperse the carpet-bag State governments (governments established under the authority of Congress); allow the white people to organize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the Representatives elected by the white people of the South; and with the co-operation of the President, it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit, once more, to the obligations of the Constitution."

This revolutionary scheme—a scheme for inaugurating another Civil War—was so acceptable to the Convention, that its author was nominated for the second office in the gift of the people. But it was so distasteful to vast numbers of the patriotic and thinking members of the Democratic party, that the nominees were defeated at the polls by an overwhelming vote that elected Grant and Colfax.

During the unfortunate and unseemly controversy between President Johnson and the National Congress, the work of reorganization, according to the plans of the latter, had been going forward vigorously, in spite of the factious interference of the Chief Magistrate. A Fourteenth Amendment had been proposed by a joint resolution of Congress, adopted on the 13th of June, 1866. This amendment had been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the supreme law of the land, in July, 1868, and on the 28th of that month the fact was officially promulgated by the



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT

Secretary of State. That amendment secured the rights of citizenship to all persons "born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof"; politically disabled a certain class of chief offenders in the insurrection; declared the validity of the National debt; and forbade the payment of any part of the so-called "Confederate" debt. Refer to the National Constitution, in the Appendix, for the text of this amendment.

Seven of the disorganized States, namely, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, had ratified the amendment; and having, by that act, by the adoption of State constitutions approved by Congress, and by the

election of National Senators and Representatives, complied with the prescriptions of Congress, they took their places as revived States of the Union. But the perfect reorganization was not effected until the spring of 1872, when, on the 23d of May, the remaining three States having taken their places with their sisters, every seat in Congress was filled, for the first time since the winter of 1861, when members from several of the slave-labor States abdicated them. On the previous day (May 22, 1872) an Amnesty Bill was passed for removing the political disabilities imposed by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, from all persons excepting members of the Thirty-sixth Congress, heads of departments,

members of diplomatic corps, and officers of the army and navy, who had engaged in the rebellion.

At a little past midsummer (1868), when all but three States had been reorganized and civil government had been established in the restored States, the general-in-chief issued a proclamation (July 28) declaring that so much of the "reconstruction" acts as provided for military rule in the South, had become inoperative. At the same time the President continued to display his factious spirit in a most ludicrous and futile manner. He asserted that the State governments in the South, established by an illegal Congress, were illegal, and, consequently, their ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment was of no effect, and it was not ratified. In order to forestall and weaken the operation of a part of that amendment, he issued a proclamation on the 4th of July (1868) declaring general and unconditional pardon and amnesty for all who had been engaged in acts of rebellion, excepting a few who were under presentment or indictment for the offence. This conduct of the President was so foreboding of mischief, that when Congress took a recess in August, it was agreed to meet again in September, should the public good require; but the Presidential election absorbed so much of the attention of Mr. Johnson and the whole people, that there was a lull in the war between the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government, and the recess continued until the regular session in December. Very soon after Congress met, the President made another foolish onslaught upon the authority of that body when, on Christmas day, he issued a proclamation which declared, in defiance of the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, unconditional and unreserved pardon to *all and every person* who had participated in the late rebellion.

Before the adjournment of Congress for the recess, the Senate had ratified an important treaty with China, which Anson Burlingame, the American ambassador in that country, had negotiated. It established mutual intercourse between the citizens of the United States and those of China, and secured to each mutual and equal privileges of trade, travel, education, and religion. This was a concession never before made by the Chinese to any nation. Mr. Burlingame brought the treaty with him, and was accompanied by several high Chinese officials. He had won the entire confidence of the government, and had been appointed by the Emperor a general Commissioner to several of the Christian powers.

The result of the Presidential election gave increased strength to the Republican party. This condition implied increased responsibility, and the need of wisdom and sound judgment in the management of public affairs.

The incidents of the war had produced causes of irritation between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, and most delicate questions of national responsibility had been raised. At home, that chronic evil, war with the Indians, was then raging on the great Western Plains; and there was a wide difference of opinion in the public mind as to the best methods of putting an end to the strife. There was great exasperation on both sides, along the frontiers. There was an abiding sense of mutual injury; while all well-informed persons had a clear conviction that the deep-rooted animosity of the Indians toward the white people was occasioned by the rank injustice which the former had suffered at the hands of the latter. With this conviction there was a widespread desire that a policy toward the barbarians, founded on justice and kindness, should be pursued. But military leaders in the war, contemplating the barbarians from a point of view opposite to that occupied by the Christian philanthropist, recommended the most vigorous and unrelenting measures toward them, and for that purpose it was proposed to vest the entire control of the Indians in the War Department. "Indian tribes," said a distinguished general, "should not be dealt with as independent nations; they are wards of the Government, and should be made to respect the lives and property of citizens. The Indian history of this country for the last three hundred years shows that of all the great nations of Indians, only remnants have been saved. The same fate awaits those now hostile; and the best way for the Government is to make them poor by the destruction of their stock, and then settle them on the lands allotted them." Another general, equally distinguished, formulated the estimate of the Indian character by the average frontiersmen, by saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

These indefensible propositions and this unjust judgment have been too long the inspiration of our methods of treating the Indians. Fortunately the ethics of the mailed hand—*Might makes Right*—does not wholly prevail, and a more humane policy has been adopted. President Grant, soon after his inauguration in the spring of 1869, recommended the appointment, as Indian agents, of several members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, who are noted for their uprightness and peaceful principles and conduct. Congress approved the recommendation of the President, and early in April (1869) sixteen Friends were chosen to carry out the policy of justice.

The radical defect in the general policy of the Government is in its treatment of the barbarians, namely, holding them as *foreigners instead of as citizens*, and making formal treaties with them; or as *children* having no legal rights. The peace-policy has not yet had a fair trial. Its excellent

fruits are seen in many places, and give abundant evidence that if it could be faithfully carried out, under a wiser political plan, it would solve the great problem by pacifying the Indians, and tend to their rapid advancement in civilization. Evidences abound in the later reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of a rapid advancement of the arts of peace, especially of agriculture, among the Indian tribes. Commissioner E. P. Smith, in his report for 1875, says: "The civilization of the Indians is not only entirely possible, but is fairly under way." He reported that out of the entire Indian population within the domain of the United States (278,963 souls), 40,638 men and boys supported themselves by the labor of their own hands. About one-sixth of the barbarian population in our Republic had become producers! "Five years ago," said the Commissioner, "10,329 Indian families were living in houses. This year shows 19,902; a gain of 92 per cent." He also reported that the number of children attending school was 10,600.

These facts show that our barbarian brethren are capable, not only of civilization, but of becoming orderly and valuable citizens. As a savage hunter, the Indian is expensive. During only six years—1870 to 1876—our Government made appropriations for the support of the Indians on their reservations (exclusive of the cost of military movements to keep them from "picking and stealing") of the large sum of nearly \$44,000,000. Treat the Indian as a *man* and a *citizen*, and wars and unprofitable expenditures on his account would cease.

Immediately after the assembling of Congress in December, 1868, Mr. Cragin of New Hampshire offered an amendment of the National Constitution, for securing the elective franchise to the freedmen. The proposition was debated for several weeks, and on the 26th of February, 1869, Congress adopted a joint resolution recommending the following, as a Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"SECTION 2. The Congress, by appropriate legislation, may enforce the provisions of this article."

This amendment was immediately submitted to the authorities of the several States for action, and was ratified by the requisite number. Before the close of that session, an important financial bill was adopted, of which the following was the chief provision: "The faith of the United States is

solemnly pledged to the payment, in coin, or its equivalent, of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver." This act was not only just, but expedient. It was intended to strengthen the credit of the Government at home and abroad, and that was accomplished.

The turbulent administration of Mr. Johnson closed on the 4th of March, 1869, when Ulysses Simpson Grant was inaugurated the eighteenth President of the United States. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase, and the Senate confirmed his cabinet appointments, after some necessary changes, as follows: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury; John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Coxé, Secretary of the Interior; A. J. Creswell, as Postmaster-General; and E. Rockwood Hoar, as Attorney-General.

On the day when Johnson retired from the chair of state, he issued a long address to his countrymen in vindication of his course as Chief Magistrate. He recited his most prominent acts, declaring the necessity for them; and having done this he assailed the majority of the Congress with his usual vehemence of tone, accusing them of acting in "utter disregard of the Constitution." "Since the close of the war," he said, "they have persistently sought to influence the prejudices engendered between the sections, to retard the restoration of peace and harmony, and by every means to keep open and exposed to the poisonous breath of party passion the terrible wounds of a four years' war. They have prevented the return of peace and the restoration of the Union; in every way rendered delusive the purposes, promises and pledges, by which the army was marshalled, treason rebuked, and rebellion crushed, and made the liberties of the people and the rights and powers of the President objects of constant attack." He charged them with the commission of nearly every act of oppression enumerated in the indictment against George the Third, contained in the Declaration of Independence, and said, "This catalogue of crimes, long as it is, is not yet complete."

This public exhibition of the retiring President's weakness; his inaccuracy of statements; his unjust and untrue accusations, and his manifestation of blind anger, mortified his real friends and elicited a smile of pity from those who were assailed. In his whole career as President, Mr. Johnson seemed to feel, like Louis the Fourteenth, "I am the state." He seemed to forget that he was the *executive* and not the *legislative* or *judicial* branch of

the Government; that it was the duty of Congress to make laws, and his to see that they were executed; that after he had expressed his reasons for the disapproval of an act, in a veto message, and that act became a law by a constitutional vote, it was his solemn duty to enforce that law; and that the Supreme Court, and not the Executive, was the sole judge of the constitutionality of an enactment.

The career of Andrew Johnson exhibits a peculiar phase in our social system—the possibilities that wait upon citizens of the most humble origin. Mr. Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, late in 1808. His parents were poor and lowly; and at the age of four years he was bereft of his father. Without an hour's schooling, he was apprenticed to a tailor at the age of ten years; and during that service he taught himself to read. With his own hands he supported his mother, and with her he moved to Greenville, East Tennessee, when he was eighteen years of age. There he soon married an excellent girl, who taught him to write. The energy of his character, his sobriety and strength of mind, commended him to the citizens, and he was elected alderman of Greenville at the age of twenty, and mayor when he was twenty-one.

Mr. Johnson was possessed of a certain kind of rugged and ready oratory that made him very popular; also the elements and aspirations of an adroit politician; and he made his way upward in the path of distinction by his own indomitable will, passing successively through the offices of alderman, mayor, member of both houses of the Legislature of Tennessee, presidential elector, member of Congress, governor of Tennessee, national Senator, Vice-President, and Acting-President of the United States. His moral nature was more feeble than his ambition, and yielded to it; and in his career as President that weakness prevented his achieving most enviable fame as a patriot and a benefactor of his race.



CHAPTER CXXXV.

Public Affairs—"Alabama" Claims—Financial Affairs—National Debt, Banking and Currency—Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments—Proposed Amendment of the Constitution—Pacific Railway—Inter-Oceanic Ship Canal Considered—Difficulties with Cuba and Spain—The "Virginian" Affair—The San Domingo Question—Samana Bay Company—Joint High Commission—Tribunal of Arbitration and Its Award—Decision about Boundary on the Pacific—Electro-Magnetic Telegraph—Litigations—Marine Telegraphy—Appliances of the Telegraph—Weather Signaling—Revelations of the Census—New Apportionment—Pensions.

AUSPICIOUS omens of peace and prosperity appeared at the beginning of President Grant's administration. The condition of public affairs, at home and abroad, seemed to promise a bright official career for the new Chief Magistrate. The only cloud seen in the firmament of our foreign relations that betokened future difficulties, was the irritation felt concerning the depredations of the *Alabama* under the tacit sanction of the British government. The Government of the United States claimed for its citizens payment for the damages inflicted upon them by that Anglo-Confederate cruiser.

To effect a peaceful solution of the difficulty, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland was sent to England, in 1868, to negotiate a treaty for that purpose; but his mission did not have a satisfactory result. The treaty agreed to was almost universally condemned by his countrymen, and it was rejected by the Senate by a vote of fifty-four against one. Mr. Johnson was recalled, and J. Lothrop Motley, the historian, was appointed American Minister to the British court, charged with the negotiation of another treaty for the same purpose. Mr. Motley was no more successful in that particular mission than was his predecessor, and General Grant recalled him in 1870. The matter was finally settled by arbitration, as we shall observe presently.

The financial aspect in the public affairs of our country, at the time of the accession of President Grant, was encouraging because of a prospect of a steady reduction of the enormous debt which the Civil War had imposed upon the nation. On the first of August, 1865, or three months after the close of the Civil War, in the field, that debt, including back-pay, bounties, over-due contracts, transportation, and a variety of other expenses incident

to the closing of the war, was actually more than \$3,000,000,000. On the first of March, 1869, it was \$2,525,463,260, showing the remarkable fact that in the space of three years and eight months the National debt had been reduced over \$600,000,000. This reduction has gone on gradually ever since until, on the first of October, 1877, the debt amounted to \$2,051,587,254; while to-day (1905) it has been further reduced to \$800,000,000.

It was during the Civil War that a radical and most salutary change was made in the banking system of our country. In 1860, on the eve of the breaking out of that war, the number of the banks in the Union was fifteen hundred and sixty-two, with an aggregate capital of almost \$422,000,000, and a circulation of about \$207,000,000. At the same time they held nearly \$84,000,000 in specie, and their aggregate deposits were almost \$254,000,000. The necessity for a better National currency was conspicuous soon after the beginning of the war, but no provision was made for one until the 3d of June, 1864. A law was then passed providing for a separate bureau in the Treasury Department, the chief officer of which was called Comptroller of the Currency, whose office is under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. It also provided for the formation of private banking associations, within defined limits, to have existence for twenty years, the stockholders to be equally liable to the extent of the stock for the debts and contracts of the bank. Every such association was required, preliminary to the commencement of banking, to transfer bonds of the United States to an amount not less than \$30,000, and not less than the capital stock paid in. Then the association was entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes equal in amount to twenty per cent. of the current market value of the bonds transferred, but not exceeding ninety per cent. of the par value of such bonds. This made the Government of the United States the basis of security for the redemption of the paper currency, and that circulating medium was of equal credit in all parts of the United States. The latter feature of the system is of immense value to people in all financial transactions. The banking associations formed under this system are called National Banks; and at this time there are very few banks not included under that title.

By an act of Congress passed in 1875, banking under the National system is made free, without any restriction as to the amount of circulating notes that may be issued by the Comptroller of the Treasury to any part of the country; and the privileges attached to the National banks are open to individuals everywhere, making the proper deposit, for security, of United States bonds. Early in the Civil War, all of the banks in the Republic suspended specie payments, and up to 1877 they had not resumed, though

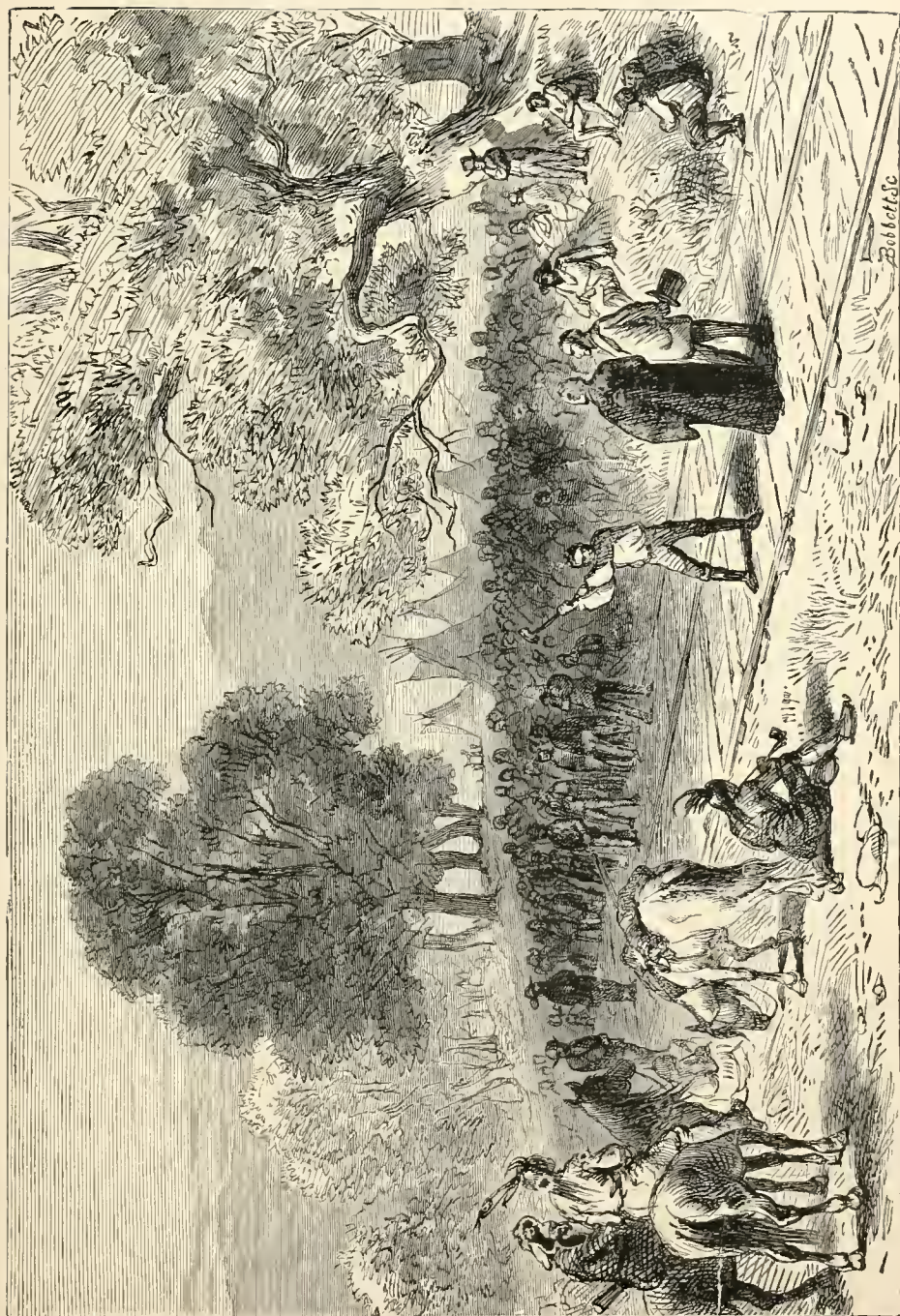
Congress then provided for the taking of an initial step toward resumption on the first of January, 1879, at which time the Government itself stood pledged to resumption and to the final redemption and removal from the currency of the country of the legal-tender notes as fast as they shall be presented for redemption. Resumption was really begun by the National Government in 1876, by calling in its fractional currency, and giving silver coin in exchange. The consequence is that there is, at the present time (close of 1877), an excess of silver currency in circulation.

At an early period of Grant's administration, an important amendment to the National Constitution was proposed, by Mr. Julian of Indiana, for securing the ballot to women, in the following form :

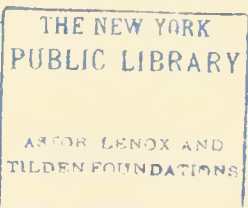
"The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all the citizens of the United States, whether native or naturalized, shall enjoy this right equally, without any distinction or discrimination whatever, founded on sex."

As the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares that "all persons, born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof [without an allusion to sex] are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside," this amendment clearly gives to women the rights and privileges of citizens. No action has since been taken by Congress on the subject; but organizations for effecting that object exist, and the matter will not be allowed to slumber indefinitely, for justice demands such a fundamental law. The right to the exercise of the elective franchise is guaranteed to our colored citizens; do women less deserve the privilege?

A most important event occurred in our country, in May, 1869, which has had a powerful effect already upon commerce, the arts and civilization, national and international. It was the completion of an uninterrupted railway communication, for freight and passengers, across our continent, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, thereby opening a way for a vast trade, for our countrymen, with China, Japan, and the islands of the Sea. The ceremony of laying the last "tie" and driving the last "spikes," took place on the 10th of May (1869), in a grassy valley near the head of the Great Salt Lake, in Utah. It was performed in the presence of many hundred people of various nationalities, including some of our dusky barbarian brethren. That "tie" was made of laurel-wood brightly polished, its ends bound with silver bands. The "spikes" were three in number. One was of solid gold, sent from California; another was of solid silver,



COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD



sent from Nebraska; and a third, composed of gold, silver and iron, was furnished by citizens of Arizona. These were driven, after some religious ceremonials; and when the work was completed, the fact was communicated to the people of our continent and across the seas, with the speed of the lightning's flash. That great railway crosses nine distinct mountain ranges, in its passage of about three thousand four hundred miles between New York and San Francisco, by way of Chicago; and the greatest elevation attained in the route is at Rattle Snake Pass, west of the Laramie Plains, where the road is seven thousand one hundred and twenty-three feet above the sea. Other railways—one more northerly and one more southerly—for connecting the two oceans by a bond of iron have been projected.

At the close of the Civil War, the subject of a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Darien to connect the waters of the two great oceans, was brought prominently before the American people. Explorations under the auspices of our Government, for such a purpose, had been attempted long before; but, for a time, nothing had been done. By a treaty concluded on the 14th of January, 1869, between our Government and that of the United States of Colombia, the former was empowered to survey and construct a canal at any point across the great isthmus, excepting along the route of the Panama Railroad, unless with the consent of the owners of that highway. Under the provisions of that treaty, the Government of the United States ordered surveys to be made, and two exploring expeditions were sent out in 1870. One, led by Commander T. O. Selfridge of the Navy, was sent to the lower portion of the Isthmus of Darien. Another, under Captain Shufeldt of the Navy, was sent to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, further south.

The report of Captain Shufeldt showed that no extraordinary engineering would be required on the Tehuantepec route; but that an elevation of about six hundred and eighty feet would have to be reached by means of locks. By this route the distance between New Orleans and Hong-Kong would be nine thousand miles less than by the way of Cape Horn, and over twelve hundred miles less than by the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Darien.

Commander Selfridge explored three routes across the Darien isthmus at its narrower part, all of which he reported to be impracticable. He also explored a route by way of the Atrato River and the Napipi, one of its tributaries, which he regarded as the best and most feasible in all that region. It includes one hundred and fifty miles of river navigation, and a canal less than forty miles in length, which would terminate at the mouth of the Limon River in Cupica Bay on the Pacific coast. The estimated cost of a canal by that route, including three miles of rock-cutting one

hundred and twenty-five feet in depth, is \$124,000,000. The highest point of the canal would be one hundred and thirty feet above the sea; and it may be fed by the Napipi River.

Selfridge made his report in 1871; and the next year the President appointed Major-General Humphreys, Professor Benjamin Pierce, Captain Daniel Ammen, commissioners to examine all plans and proposals for an inter-oceanic ship-canal across the isthmus. They are yet (1878) charged with the business while surveys are still in progress. The vast importance of such a work is conceded. The advantages to the commerce of the world is obvious. That commerce demands its speedy completion. The route to the East Indies, even from Liverpool, would be much shortened by it.

So early as 1850, our Government had difficulties with the authorities of Cuba, growing out of attempts to secure the independence of the Creoles. In 1869, an insurrection there had assumed such formidable proportions, and received so much moral support from the citizens of the United States, that again serious troubles, if not actual war with Spain, seemed inevitable. The American people naturally sympathize with others who are struggling against despotism and for the right to exercise local self-government, and are not always restrained by a wise prudence. Native Cubans and sympathetic Americans fitted out expeditions, under the general directions of a "Cuban Junta" in the city of New York, for the purpose of carrying men and war-material to the insurgent camps. Then our Government, determined to observe the strictest neutrality and impartiality, felt compelled to notice this flagrant violation of law, and took measures to suppress all *fillibustering* movements, and to keep faith with foreign governments.

At times, these peculiar relations between our people and those of the neighboring Spanish colony caused much irritation, and promised a disruption of the peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Finally, late in 1873, war between the two countries seemed to be inevitable. The steamship *Virginus*, flying the flag of our Republic, suspected of carrying men and supplies to the Cubans, was captured by a Spanish cruiser off the coast of Cuba, taken into port, and many of her passengers, and her captain and some of the crew, were publicly shot by the local military authorities. This outrage produced intense excitement throughout our country. There was, for awhile, a hot war-spirit in the land; but wise men in the control of the governments of Spain and the United States, calmly considered the international questions involved, and settled the matter by peaceful diplomacy. There were rights to be acknowledged by both parties. The *Virginus* was surrendered to the United States authorities, and ample reparation for the outrage was offered. While the vessel was on its way

to New York, under an escort, she sprung a-leak off Cape Fear, and went to the bottom of the sea, at the close of December, 1873. So, by wise diplomacy, peace with all the world, with one notable and brief exception, has been maintained since the close of our Civil War.

For full twenty years the governments of Western Europe have suspected the United States of designs to gain a controlling influence among the West India Islands, by obtaining possession of Cuba, or some other territory. The suspicion was first aroused by the declarations of the infamous "Ostend Manifesto." It was allayed by the manifest determination of our Government to suppress all unlawful military expeditions against that island, or any other territory. It was again excited by movements on the part of our Government to obtain possession, by annexation, of the island of Hayti or San Domingo. The wants of commerce, and political considerations, had created a strong desire of the American people for our Republic to have a territorial possession among the West India Islands. Movements, with that object in view, were made in 1869. President Grant was decidedly in favor of a scheme for the annexation of San Domingo; and late in the autumn of that year, a treaty for the purpose was conducted between our Government and that of Hayti. There was opposition to the measure in Congress. More exact information concerning the physical aspects of the island and the disposition of the people was demanded; and a Commission, consisting of judicious men, was sent to San Domingo for observation. Their report, although it was favorable, did not lead to a ratification of the treaty by our Senate, and the project has slumbered ever since. Then a private treaty was made by a stock company with the authorities of San Domingo, by which the government of that commonwealth ceded to the association a large portion of the island, with valuable privileges. All the public lands on the peninsula of Samana, and the waters of Samana Bay, were ceded to the "Samana Bay Company." That association has since slumbered.

In the year 1870, the claims of the Government of the United States upon that of Great Britain, for damages inflicted upon the American shipping interest by the depredations of the *Alabama*, and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers, occupied a large share of public attention. Two efforts to effect a treaty had been made and failed. Much diplomatic correspondence ensued. Finally, late in January, 1871, Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, under instructions from his government, proposed, in a letter to Secretary Fish, a Joint High Commission, to be appointed by the two governments respectively, to settle a serious dispute which had arisen concerning the fisheries, and so to establish

a permanent friendship between the two nations. Mr. Fish, in reply, proposed that the Commission should embrace, in its inquiries, the matter of the "*Alabama* claims," and other subjects of dispute, so that nothing should remain to disturb the relations of friendship which might be established. The suggestion was approved by the British minister, and each government proceeded to appoint its commissions. President Grant appointed Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State; Samuel Nelson, Associate-Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Robert C. Schenck, minister to England; E. Rockwood Hoar, late Attorney-General of the United States; and George H. Williams, United States Senator from Oregon. Queen Victoria appointed George Frederick Samuel, Earl de Grey and Earl of Ripon; Sir Stratford Henry Northcote; Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister; Sir Alexander Macdonald, a member of the Privy Council of Canada, and Attorney-General of that Province; and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford.

The commissioners of the United States were instructed to consider (1) the fisheries; (2) the navigation of the St. Lawrence River; (3) reciprocal trade between the United States and the Dominion of Canada; (4) the Northwest water boundary and the Island of San Juan; (5) the claims of the United States against Great Britain for compensation for injuries committed by rebel cruisers; and (6) claims of British subjects against the United States for losses and injuries arising out of acts committed during the recent Civil War.

On the 27th of February (1871), the Commission had their first meeting, in Washington city. Lord Tenterden, Secretary of the British Commission, and J. C. Brancroft Davis, Assistant-Secretary of State of the United States, were chosen clerks of the Joint High Commission. They held many meetings and the subjects were fully discussed, when a treaty was agreed to, which provided for the settlement, by arbitration, by a mixed commission, of all claims on both sides for injuries by either governments to the citizens of the other, during the Civil War, and for the permanent settlement of all questions in dispute between the two nations. This treaty was signed on the 8th of May, 1871, and was speedily ratified by the two governments.

The conclusion of the treaty was followed by the appointment of arbitrators. The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams; and Great Britain, Sir Alexander Cockburn. The two governments jointly invited the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, each to appoint an arbitrator. The Emperor appointed Baron d'Itazuba; the King chose Count Frederick Sclopis; and the President of the

Swiss Confederation appointed James Stæmpfli. J. C. Bancroft Davis was appointed agent of the United States; and Lord Tenterden, of Great Britain. These gentlemen formed what was termed the "Tribunal of Arbitration."

On the 15th of December, 1871, the "Tribunal" assembled at Geneva, in Switzerland, where Count Sclopis was chosen to preside. After two meetings, it was adjourned to the middle of June, 1872. A final meeting was held in September, the same year; and on the 14th of that month, its decision on the *Alabama* claims was announced. That decision decreed that the government of Great Britain should pay to the Government of the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold, to be given to citizens of the latter for losses incurred by the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Anglo-Confederate cruisers. That amount was paid into the Treasury of the United States, a year afterward, through the agency of the banking firms of Drexel, Morgan & Co. and Jay Cooke & Co., who made a contract with the British government to pay this award on or before the 10th of September, 1873. This transaction was performed in the following manner, without moving a dollar of coin:

The contracting bankers, from time to time, bought bills of exchange, which they deposited in comparatively small amounts, and received coin or gold certificates for such deposits, and purchased United States bonds. Those bonds and coin certificates they finally exchanged with the Secretary of the Treasury for a single certificate for \$15,500,000, which reads as follows: "It is hereby certified that fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars have been deposited with the Treasurer of the United States, payable in gold, at his office, to Drexel, Morgan & Co., Morton, Bliss & Co., and Jay Cooke & Co., or their order." This was endorsed by these parties to pay the amount to the British minister at Washington, and the British Consul-General at New York. The minister and consul endorsed it with an order to pay the amount to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; and he, in turn, endorsed it with an order to pay it to W. A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury. The money was invested in the new five per cent. bonds of the United States of the funded loan, redeemable after the first day of May, 1881; and a commission was appointed to distribute the award among the just claimants for damages.

The question of boundary on the Pacific coast between our country and the British possessions, was referred to the Emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the claims of the United States, which gave to our territory the island of San Juan, the domain in dispute. So was settled by the peaceful and just method of arbitration, most exciting questions,

which, at one time, threatened to be referred to the arbitrament of the sword.

Allusion has been made to the electro-magnetic telegraph, and the first establishment of communication between America and Europe by it. That invention, conceived more than a century ago, was first brought to perfection and made a medium for the transmission of language instantly over great spaces, by Samuel Finley Breese Morse of New York, and was first presented to public notice in the year 1838. He filed a caveat at the Patent Office in the autumn of 1837, and gave a private exhibition of its marvellous power, in the New York University, in January, 1838, when intelligence was instantly transmitted through a circuit of ten miles of wire, and plainly recorded on a cylinder.

Professor Morse applied to Congress for pecuniary aid to enable him to construct an experimental line of telegraph between Washington and Baltimore. He was unsuccessful, and for four years he waited for the tardy action of his government. Then, in the spring of 1842, Congress appropriated \$30,000 for his use; and two years afterward Professor Morse transmitted from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of forty miles, the first message, furnished him by a young lady—"What hath God wrought!" The first public message was the announcement of the nomination of James K. Polk for President of the United States, by a Democratic convention sitting at Baltimore, in May, 1844.

Others claimed to be the authors of the great invention, and Professor Morse was put upon the defensive. Infringements of the patents he had obtained ensued, and years of costly litigation. He triumphed. His rights were fully and finally established by the careful sifting of testimony by the courts, and a decision was made from which there could be no just appeal, that Professor Morse was the original and sole inventor of the electro-magnetic recording telegraph system, known by his name. Its value was soon perceived. Monarchs bestowed *orders* and pecuniary gifts upon the inventor, and colleges conferred honorary degrees upon him.

Professor Morse originated marine telegraphy. He suggested the possibility of telegraphic communication between America and Europe, by means of a submarine cable, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury in the summer of 1843; and in 1858 he participated in the labors and honors of achieving it. In the summer of that year a cable was laid between Valencia in Ireland and the shore of Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, over the great ocean plateau discovered by Professor Maury of the National Observatory. The first intelligent communication was made on the 13th of August. Early in the morning of the 17th, a message was received from the Queen

of Great Britain, for the President of the United States, and an answer was immediately returned, when the cable ceased its functions. It was dumb until the summer of 1866, when communication was re-established, and has been permanent ever since. There now seems to be no impediment to its utterances by a pathway under the sea, and over the land, between nearly all the countries of the civilized world.

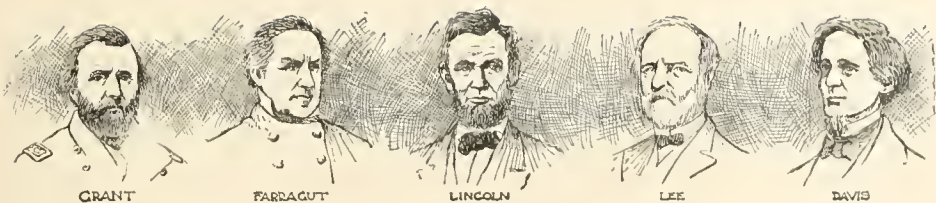
Many new functions of this great invention have been discovered, and its powers seem to be in their infancy of manifestation. Messages are now sent by a single wire, each way, at the same instant of time. The human voice and the melody of musical instruments may now be transmitted over hundreds of miles of space, and even impressions of handwriting and the living features of the human face may now be sent by friend to friend, from State to State, from ocean to ocean. Commerce and agriculture are receiving vast benefits from its use in meteorological observations and scientific predictions of future events.

In the year 1870, Congress authorized the establishment of a Weather-Signal Service, under the control of the War Department, which was designed to collect information and give notice by signals or by telegraph, of *any* approaching danger; in time of peace, of dangers to arise from storms in their progress, or other atmospheric disturbances. This peculiar service was invented and organized by General Albert J. Myer, who has been at the head of it from the beginning. The system, as arranged by General Myer, permits the forecasting of atmospheric phenomena for twenty-four hours in advance; and to such perfection is the system brought, that almost ninety per cent. of the predictions are verified by actual results. Simultaneous weather reports from simultaneous observations, taken at different places, are transmitted to the Signal Office at Washington. Three of these simultaneous reports are made in each twenty-four hours, at the same instant of time, at intervals of eight hours; and warnings are given by signals, maps, bulletins, and official despatches, furnished by the Signal Office three times each day, to nearly all the newspapers of the land. So thoroughly is this work done, by means of the telegraph, and by the perfect organization of the system and the discipline of the operators, that it is estimated one-third of all the families in our country are in possession, each day, of the information at the Signal Office in Washington. The value of this service to commerce and agriculture is incalculable. A storm raging in any part of the country may be known to ports and districts in its track many hours before it can reach such points; and deductions from known meteorological laws enable the Signal Bureau to predict the probable state of the weather in every part of the country with great accuracy. The

advantages of such a service are obvious. The invention and operations of the electro-magnetic telegraph furnish a marvellous chapter in the history of our country.

In the year 1870 the ninth enumeration or census of the inhabitants of the United States and their productions was begun; but it was not completed until late in the next year. The revelations of that census concerning the growth of our country in population, development of its resources and its various industries, were wonderful. It showed the remarkable fact that the inhabitants of this comparatively young country, with its immense out-of-doors, were not a pre-eminently agricultural people. When the first enumeration was taken in the year 1790, and the population was about four million, the value of the annual products of our agriculture was reported at \$150,000,000. That of our manufactures was then quite small. The assessed wealth of the people then was estimated at \$497,293,000. Sixty years after that enumeration (1850), the value of the annual products of agriculture was given at \$1,070,000,000, and of manufactures at \$1,019,000,000, and the assessed wealth at \$2,276,000,000. Our population then was little more than twenty-three million. Twenty years later, or at the decennial enumeration 1870, when our population was almost forty million, the value of the annual agricultural products, including that of the farms, orchards, forests, buildings and live-stock, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000. At the same time the value of the annual product of our manufactures was estimated at \$4,232,325,000, or \$1,232,325,000 more than the total value of the agricultural products of our country. This showed an increase in the value of the products of our manufactures, in the previous twenty years, of over three hundred per cent.

After this enumeration of the inhabitants, and the final restoration of the Union, in May, 1872, a new apportionment in representation was established, making the ratio one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, instead of ninety thousand. A new Pension bill was also adopted, giving eight dollars a month to all surviving officers, enlisted men, and volunteers in the wars of the Revolution and of 1812, or their surviving widows.



CHAPTER CXXXVI.

Propositions of National Interest Rejected—Public Park—National Conventions—Distinguished Visitors—Inauguration of Grant—His Cabinet—Acts of Congress—Salaries—Aspect of Public Affairs—The “Panic”—Indians and Indian Wars—The Modocs—Cheap Transportation—“Patrons of Husbandry”—Disturbances in the South—“White League”—The Sioux and Their Reservation—Expedition against the Sioux—Destruction of Custer and His Command—Custer’s Remains Taken to West Point—Escape of Sitting Bull—Admission of Colorado—Indian Territory and Alaska—Inhabitants of Indian Territory.

THE year of grace 1872 was a “Presidential year”—a year when the Chief Magistrate of the Republic is chosen—and that subject naturally occupied much of the public attention during the summer and fall; yet there were, besides, projects of a national character, of great interest, presented for consideration. One of these was a proposition to place the telegraph system of our country under the control of the National Government, and make it a part of the postal system of the United States. Another project was the enlargement of the land-locked navigation, by means of canals, from the extreme eastern portion of the Union to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi River to various ports on the Atlantic coast. The governor of Virginia proposed that the State debts should be assumed by the National Government—an act that was wise and just when our Government first went into operation, for the State debts had been incurred chiefly by expenditures during the war for independence, for the general good. The present State debts have all been incurred for the benefit of each State separately. These various propositions failed to secure the popular favor.

By an act of Congress a large tract of the public domain, about forty miles square, lying near the head-waters of the Yellowstone River, on the northeastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, was set apart for a public park. It is withdrawn from sale, settlement and occupancy, and is dedicated to the “pleasure and enjoyment of the people of the United States.”

Early in the year 1872, several political national conventions were held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The first was that of the “Labor-Reform Party,” held at Columbus, Ohio, in February,

when David Davis of Illinois, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, was nominated. Mr. Davis declined, and finally Charles O'Connor of the city of New York was nominated by that party. In April, a "Colored National Convention" was held in New Orleans; but they refrained from nominating a President. A movement, begun in Missouri in 1870, for a union of Democrats and so-called "Liberal Republicans," culminated, in the spring and summer of 1872, in the fusion of these two political elements. A convention of "Liberal Republicans" assembled at Cincinnati on the first of May (1872), and nominated the late Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The regular Republican Convention assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th of June, and nominated President Grant for re-election and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President. On the 9th of July the Democratic Convention assembled at Baltimore, and adopted the nominees of the "Liberals" (Messrs. Greeley and Brown) by an almost unanimous vote. The Opposition party expected much strength from the coalition; but Grant and Wilson were elected, the majority of the former being much greater than he received in 1868.

Distinguished visitors came to the United States in 1872. An imposing embassy of twenty-one persons came from Japan to make inquiries about the renewal of former treaties between the two governments; but, not having sufficient delegated power to make such renewals, the matter was not then settled. Relations between the United States and Japan are cordial in the extreme; and the commerce, politics, and society of the two nations are rapidly becoming more intimate with each other. The same year the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor of Russia, made a tour through our country, and was graciously received everywhere.

President Grant's second term of office began on the 4th of March, 1873. It was an intensely cold day at the National Capital; but the inaugural ceremonies were performed, as usual, in the open air, at the east front of the Capitol. Chief-Justice Chase administered the oath of office; and it was one of the latest public acts of that distinguished jurist. His health had been failing for some time, in consequence of a paralytic stroke in 1872, and he died two months after these imposing ceremonies. The Senate immediately confirmed President Grant's nominations of constitutional advisers, which were as follows: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; William A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury; William W. Belknap, Secretary of War; George A. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy; Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster-General; and George H. Williams, Attorney-General. Changes in the *personnel* of the

cabinet afterward took place, and only Mr. Fish retained his position during the eight years of President Grant's administration.

The third session of the Forty-second Congress closed on the 4th of March, 1873, at noon. Among the numerous acts passed during that session was one to abolish the grades of Admiral and Vice-Admiral in the United States navy. Another abolished the Franking privilege; and another fixed the pay of certain officers of Government and members of Congress. The salary of the President of the United States was raised from \$25,000 a year to \$50,000, payable in monthly installments. The salary of the Vice-President was fixed at \$10,000; of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, \$10,500; and the Associate-Justices, \$10,000 each. That of the heads of the several departments, and of the Attorney-General, was fixed at \$10,000; of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, \$10,000; and of Senators and Representatives, \$7,500 each, a year, and no allowance made for traveling expenses, the mileage system having been abolished.

At the beginning of the second term of President Grant's administration, the future of our country, in all its aspects, appeared brighter than ever before, since the end of the Civil War. There seemed to be a steady improvement in the tone of public feeling after the irritations caused by the Civil War and the measures adopted for the restoration of the Union. The Government, in its dealings with the leaders in the insurrection, had been exceedingly lenient. Of the thousands of our citizens who consciously and willingly committed "treason against the United States," as defined by Article III, Section 3, Clause 1, of the National Constitution, not one had been punished for that crime; and only Jefferson Davis, the acting head of the Confederacy, had been indicted, and he was released from jail (illegally) by President Johnson's proclamation of Amnesty on Christmas day, 1868, already mentioned, and has never been called to account.

There was, also, a gradual lightening of the burdens of taxation which the war had imposed. The amount was reduced by many millions annually, while the revenue had increased from \$371,000,000 in 1869 to \$430,000,000 in 1873. The exports showed an increase, as compared with 1859 of more than twenty-five per cent., while there had not been an equal increase in the value of imports.

Emigration from Europe poured, in an immense volume, upon our shores that year (1873), reaching the unprecedented number of souls that came, of 473,000. Never before nor since have so many aliens come to the United States, adding vastly to our material wealth. Efforts have been made to ascertain the capital value of the average emigrant who comes

here, as a producer. Dr. Edward Young, the chief of our National Bureau of Statistics, Commerce and Navigation, has computed it at \$800, not counting the money the emigrant brings with him, which, he calculates, is spent by him in preparing to become a producer. If, then, we take the number of aliens who have come to our shores since the taking of the census in 1870, until the year 1877, amounting, in round numbers, to say 2,000,000, we have an aggregate sum of \$1,600,000,000 added to our wealth within these seven years, by emigration alone. It is estimated by Dr. Young, that previous to 1870, there have been added to our wealth from the same source, \$6,243,880,800; making a total increment from emigration alone of \$7,843,880,800. It is estimated that sixty per cent. of all the emigrants who arrive are in the prime of life, and ready to enter at once into their several industrial pursuits.

Dr. Young, writing in 1875, says: "As regards nationality, more than one-half of those who have thus far arrived in the United States are British, and come from the United Kingdom, or from the British possessions of North America. These speak our language, and a large part are acquainted with our laws and institutions, and are soon associated with and absorbed into our body politic.

"The German element comes next, and embraces nearly two-thirds of the remainder, being at once an industrious and an intelligent people, a large proportion settling in rural districts, and developing the agricultural resources of the West and South; while the remainder, consisting largely of artisans and skilled workmen, find profitable employment in the cities and manufacturing towns.

"The influx of Scandinavians, who have already made extensive settlements in the northwestern States, constitutes a distinctive feature of the movement; and though but a few years since it received its first impetus, it is already large and rapidly increasing. Industrious, economical and temperate, their advent should be especially welcomed.

"Asiatic emigration [Chinese], whatever views may be entertained of its influence upon our industries and customs, has not yet reached such proportions as to excite alarm in the most apprehensive, and falls short of what has been represented, never having reached, in a single year, the number of 15,000; forming only about four per cent. of our total immigration. So small a number can easily be absorbed into a population (1870) of 40,000,000, and no injury result, if the movement be confined to *voluntary* immigration. A peculiarity of the Chinese immigration is the small number of females, not exceeding seven per cent. of the whole, a fact which seems to preclude a large increase of the pure race.

"The Latin nations contribute very little to our population, and the Slavic still less; while to-day, as from time immemorial, the different branches of the great Teutonic trunk are swarming forth from the most populous regions, to aid in the progress of civilization.

"While a brief review of the ethnic derivation of the millions who have transferred their allegiance from the Old World to the New, exhibits a favorable result, other elements of their value to this country require consideration. The wide contrast between skilled and unskilled labor, between industry and laziness, between economical habits and unthrift, indicates a marked variation in the capital value of the immigrant to this country. The unskilled laborers, who at once engage in subduing the forests, or cultivating the prairies, are of far more value to the country than those who remain in the large cities."

The "panic," the great tide of business revulsion that swept over the country in the autumn of 1873, prostrating thousands of commercial and manufacturing establishments, and so paralyzing various industries that the wages of hundreds of thousands of laborers were cut off or greatly reduced caused a sudden check to emigration. The great depression in the business of the country, which immediately ensued, caused a reflux tide of emigration. In 1874, the number of immigrants who returned to Europe, was 72,346, and in 1875 the number was 92,754. That business depression yet (1877) continues; but a gradual improvement is visible, with sure signs of returning prosperity. The reflux tide of emigration has almost ceased to flow, and the inflowing of a foreign population goes steadily on.

Over the firmament of the future of our country, at the time of President Grant's second inauguration, dark clouds soon appeared floating, and they have hung there almost ever since, more or less foreboding of evil in their aspect. In some of the late slave-labor States there have been fitful evidences of existing discontent and rebellious feeling, the manifestations of which have given the National Government much anxiety and trouble. "Indian hostilities" have continued as a sort of chronic disturber of the tranquillity of the nation, and especially of the settlements in mid-continent on the frontier borders of civilization.

Owing to the unwise feature of the "Peace-policy" inaugurated by President Grant, of a continuance of the vicious system of treating our barbarian population as foreigners, keeping them on reservations, and so making necessary the employment of agents and contractors, who are too frequently unscrupulous speculators, continually worrying the Indians and exciting their righteous anger, that policy, as we have observed, has not worked so well as its friends had hoped it would. There are nearly one

hundred reservations upon which about one hundred and eighty thousand Indians are seated. The aggregate area of these reservations is about one hundred and sixty-eight thousand square miles. Thirty-one of these are east of the Mississippi River, and upon the Pacific Slope are nineteen. The remainder are between these. There are about forty thousand Indians who have no lands awarded them by treaty, but they have reservations set apart for them upon the public lands of the United States, fifteen in number, and aggregating about sixty thousand square miles.

We have remarked that Indian wars have continued to disturb the repose of the Government and the frontier settlements. It is estimated that the potentially hostile tribes, at this time, number about sixty-four thousand; but they are widely scattered over a vast territory. War with such an enemy is exceedingly costly in men and money. War with the Cheyennes in 1864 caused about eight thousand troops to be taken from the armies engaged in suppressing the great insurrection, to fight the Indians. The result of the year's campaign was the killing of fifteen or twenty of the barbarians, at a cost of about one million dollars a-piece, while hundreds of soldiers lost their lives, and many border settlers were butchered! This and subsequent wars with the Indians have cost our Government over \$100,000,000. How much cheaper and Christian-like it would have been to treat them with justice and kindness, as men and women possessed of souls and the qualities of common humanity, than as ravenous wild beasts, deserving only to feel the power of bail and sabre.

In the spring of 1873, difficulties occurred with the Modoc Indians who, for twenty years, had shown a hostile feeling toward the white people. A treaty had been made with them in 1864, which provided for the setting apart for them of seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand acres of land in Southern Oregon. Some of the tribe settled there; others, led by a chief known as "Captain Jack," a conspicuous warrior, preferred to remain where they were; but sullenly consented to go. Troubles with other Indians there caused the Modocs to leave the reservation and begin anew their depredations. It was finally determined to compel them to go to their reservation, when the Indians, under the immediate leadership of Captain Jack, broke out into open war late in 1872, and on the same day eleven citizens were murdered.

In January, 1873, a severe engagement occurred between the National troops and the Modocs, who were strongly intrenched among rocks and vast lava-beds. All attempts to dislodge them were made in vain, and a peace commission was appointed to confer with them. That commission reported, on the 3d of March, that the Modocs had agreed to surrender their arms

and go to the reservation. On the following day they were compelled to report that the barbarians had changed their minds, and had rejected all propositions for a removal, and refused to go to the reservation. Then another peace commission was appointed, composed of General Canby, the Rev. Dr. Thomas, and others. They found the Modocs under the influence of Captain Jack very insolent in their bearing, and showing unmistakable signs of hostile feeling. Finally, on the 11th of April, 1873, while they were engaged in a council with the Indians, General Canby and Dr. Thomas were murdered by them, the savage warriors stealing upon them in a most cowardly manner.

This treachery caused the Government to make the most vigorous war upon the Modocs; and before the first of June they were driven from the lava-beds and were completely subdued. Captain Jack was deserted by most of his followers, and was finally captured, with several of the participants in the murder. They were tried by a court-martial, in August, and six of them were condemned to death. Captain Jack and three of his companions were hanged on the 3d of October following, at Fort Klamath, in Oregon.

In 1873, public attention, especially in the teeming West, was much occupied with the subject of cheap transportation along the courses of commerce from west to east. The matter was brought before the National Legislature, when it was decided by competent authority that Congress had, under an express provision of the Constitution, power to regulate commerce carried on by railroads. A bill was introduced, and passed the House of Representatives in March, 1874, for the institution of a board of commissioners (representing the nine judicial districts of the Republic) for the regulation of commerce carried by railroads among the several States. Nothing more was done. In that movement, a new organization, known as the "Patrons of Husbandry," took a conspicuous part. It was a secret order for the promotion of the various interests of agriculture, and had then become powerful in numbers and influence. Its growth had been marvellous. It was divided into local associations known as "Granges." There was a central or parent organization, called the National Grange, established at the capital of the Republic. State Granges were formed, with subordinate Granges in towns and counties. The membership consisted of men and women interested in agricultural pursuits.

These Granges first appeared in 1870. Their wonderful growth began in 1871, when there were only ninety in the whole country; in 1876, when they reached their maximum in strength, there were *nineteen thousand*. As the organization grew into immense proportions, politicians tried to seduce the Granges to their support; but the imperative rule of the Order, that no

political or religious topics should be discussed at their meetings, foiled the politicians. In its aim, the organization was an admirable one; and it was the first of the secret societies (for it had secret pass-words and methods of admission) which has admitted women to full membership. How could the Patrons of Husbandry do otherwise, when the work and influence of women in the business of agriculture in our country are so important? The value of their exertions may be estimated, in a degree, when we consider the vast amount of mental and physical labor now performed, directly or indirectly, by women in the food production of our country, as in all others. In the annual production here of more than *six hundred million* pounds of butter and *two hundred and fifty million* pounds of cheese, a very large proportion is the result of woman's labor, besides their attention to poultry, the gathering of honey, and the products of the garden and orchard. In the Great West, and especially among the foreign-born population, women do a vast amount of planting, weeding, cultivating, haying, harvesting, and even caring for live-stock.

During the year 1874, social and political affairs in several of the Southern States, particularly in Louisiana, were so unsettled that much uneasiness was produced in the public mind. Outrages of various kinds, and even murders, were committed in many places for the evident purpose of keeping peaceable citizens from the polls, and an utter disregard for law was shown. In September (1874), when these outrages were increasing in number and violence, the Attorney-General, with the sanction of the President, issued a Circular-Letter to the authorities in the States alluded to, expressing his determination to take vigorous steps for upholding the laws and protecting the rights of all citizens of whatever class or hue; and the President directed the Secretary of War to consult and act with the Attorney-General in the matter. By prompt action on the part of the National Government, these outrages were nearly suppressed by the beginning of 1875; but they broke out with greater vehemence in the summer of 1876, and prevailed in fearful force during the canvass for President of the United States, in the autumn of that year. The leaders and inciters of these outrages were members of a secret organization known as the "White League," formed for the purpose of overawing the colored population, and depriving them of the privileges of the ballot.

The Indian, whose dusky visage has appeared prominent on almost every page of our national history, from the time of the arrival of the Northmen until now, became a conspicuous object again at the beginning of 1875. All through that year there were either threatened or actual hostilities on the part of the barbarians. General George A. Custer had been sent into the

region known as the Black Hills, with a military force, to examine and report upon the state of affairs there. It is a region that had been set apart, by our Government, as a reservation for the powerful and warlike Sioux Indians. They are the most numerous of all the tribes, and more difficult to conquer than any body of barbarians within our domain. It is estimated that if they should rally all their strength, they might muster ten thousand warriors. The Black Hills, which had been assigned to them, occupy portions of the Territories of Dakota and Wyoming. Custer was charmed with the beauty and apparent fertility of that region of country. He reported it to be another Florida in the exuberance of its floral beauty, and also extremely rich in precious metals. The cupidity of frontiersmen was excited, and very soon prospecting miners appeared on the Sioux domain. Instructed by past experience of the bad faith of our Government, the Indians saw in these movements a sure sign of their final dispossession of these fair lands. Their jealousy was aroused. Their suspicions were well-founded; for near the close of 1874, a bill was introduced into Congress which provided for the extinguishment of the Indian title to so much of the Black Hills reservation as lay within the Territory of Dakota.

In the spring of 1875, Mr. Jenny, Government geologist, was sent to the Black Hills country to make a survey of that region. He was escorted by six companies of cavalry and two of infantry. This invasion of their reservation, and the significant presence of surveyors, confirmed the suspicions of the Sioux, of the design of our Government to deprive them of these lands; and all through that year they showed such unmistakable signs of preparations for war to defend their domain, that early in 1876 a strong military force was sent into the region of the Yellowstone River, in Montana Territory and the adjoining region, to watch the movements of the barbarians. Finally, a campaign against them was organized. The general plan was for the military force to make a simultaneous movement, under experienced leaders, in three columns—one from the Department of the Platte, led by General Croke; one from the Department of Dakota, commanded by General Terry; and a third from the Territory of Montana, led by General Gibbon. The latter was to move with his column down the Valley of the Yellowstone, to prevent the Sioux from escaping northward; General Custer, at the same time, pushing across the country from the Missouri to the Yellowstone to drive the Indians toward General Gibbon; while General Croke was to scout the Black Hills and drive out any of the hostile Sioux that might be found there. The expedition was under the chief command of General Alfred H. Terry, a brave, judicious, and experienced officer. He and his staff accompanied Custer from Fort Abraham

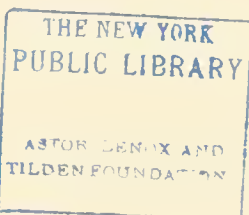
Lincoln to the Yellowstone River. On their arrival in the vicinity, at about the first of June (1876), and communicating with General Gibbon, they found that Indians were in that neighborhood, in large numbers, and well supplied with munitions of war.

The reports of scouts caused a belief that the Indians, with their great movable village, were in the meshes of the net prepared for them near the waters of the Big and Little Horn, Powder and Tongue rivers (tributaries of the Yellowstone), and Rosebud Creek. The concentrated troops began to feel for themselves. On the 17th of June, Crooke had a sharp fight with a superior force of Sioux, who were thoroughly armed and equipped, and was obliged to retreat. Terry and Gibbon met at the mouth of the Rosebud. Custer was there, at the head of the stronger column, consisting of the whole of the Seventh regiment of cavalry, composed of twelve companies, and he was ordered to make the attack. He and Gibbon marched toward the vicinity of the Big Horn River. Custer arrived first and discovered an immense Indian camp on a plain. He had been directed to await the arrival of Gibbon, to co-operate with him, before making an attack; but inferring that the Indians were moving off, he directed Colonel Reno to attack them at one point with seven companies of the cavalry, while he dashed off with five companies (about three hundred men) to attack at another point. A terrible struggle ensued on the 25th of June, 1876, with a body of Indians, in number five to one of the white men. They were commanded by an educated, bold and skillful chief named "Sitting Bull." Custer and almost his entire command were slain. Two hundred and sixty-one were killed and fifty were wounded.

With General Custer perished two of his brothers, a brother-in-law, and other gallant officers. Many of them had doubtless been murdered after they had been captured, and their bodies were horribly mutilated. The body of the general was afterward found and fully identified. It was taken to Fort Abraham Lincoln, in Dakota Territory, where provision was made for its conveyance to West Point, on the Hudson River, for interment. It was at first sent to Poughkeepsie, at midsummer, 1877, and deposited in the receiving vault of the Rural Cemetery there, where it remained until the 10th of October following, when it was conveyed to West Point, with a certificate from the post-surgeon of Fort Lincoln, that the burial casket contained "the remains of General George A. Custer, lieutenant-colonel Seventh cavalry, killed at the battle of Big Horn River, June 25, 1876." The casket containing the remains was escorted to the steamboat that conveyed it to West Point, by Poughkeepsie military, followed by the mayor and common council of that city, and a large number of citizens in



GENERAL CUSTER ON THE WAR-PATH



carriages and on foot. It was received at West Point by a guard of honor, and buried with imposing ceremonies, religious and military.

The news of the destruction of Custer and his command produced much excitement throughout the country; and the Government immediately ordered a large military force into the region of the Black Hills, for the



DESTRUCTION OF CUSTER'S COMMAND.

purpose of utterly crushing the power of the Sioux. Sitting Bull and his followers, anticipating severe chastisement, at length withdrew into the British possessions, where they remained until the summer of 1881.

We have alluded to the fact that the Territory of Colorado had to wait for admission into the Union as a State, ten years after first making application for the privilege. That act was consummated on the 4th of July,

1876, by a decision of Congress, and was the crowning achievement in our national growth at the end of the first century of the political existence of the Republic. By that act it was made to comprise thirty-eight independent States within its sovereign control. There are, also, ten Territories besides, each making rapid progress in population and the development of its resources. All are preparing for admission into the Union as States, at a time not distant in the future. Two bounded domains, namely, the Indian Territory and Alaska, have not yet secured Territorial governments, with chief magistrates, and legislatures, and with representatives in Congress.

Alaska is a large domain, lying in the extreme northwestern portion of the North American Continent, and separated from the States and Territories by British possessions. It was purchased from Russia, in 1867, for the sum of \$7,200,000 in gold. Its seal and other fisheries, and timber, are very valuable. According to official reports, in 1873, the "Alaska Commercial Company," of San Francisco, supply eighty per cent. of the fur of seals killed, in the world, and therefore have a virtual monopoly of that trade; and in 1870, the product of other fisheries was large. In salted codfish alone, it was ten million six hundred and ten thousand pounds.

The Indian Territory lies west of Arkansas and Missouri, between Kansas and Colorado on the north, and Texas on the south, and with Texas and New Mexico on its western borders. In 1870, it contained a population of about sixty thousand Indians, twenty-four thousand white people, and between six and seven thousand colored people. It comprises seventeen Indian reservations, upon which are settled as the principal nations of the dusky occupants, Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Many of these are civilized, and are following the pursuits of civilization. They cultivate the soil and raise live-stock. The value of their agricultural productions is over \$5,000,000, annually; and of their live-stock, in 1875, over \$10,000,000. The Choctaws, who have about fifty thousand acres of cultivated land, possessed over one hundred thousand horses, one hundred thousand horned cattle, eight thousand sheep, and one hundred and fifty thousand swine. It is clear to the judgment of judicious observers, that the Indian makes a better herdsman than agriculturist.



CHAPTER CXXXVII.

A Centennial Exhibition Proposed—First Practical Measures Adopted—The Subject Presented to Congress—Action of Congress—Commissioners Appointed—Organization of the Centennial Commission—Centennial Board of Finance—Official Seal—Preparations for Buildings—Grounds Devoted to the Exhibition—Action of the Government—Medals Authorized—Exhibition Buildings and Their Extent—Women's Work—Unpatriotic Action in Congress—Opening of the Exhibition—Whittier's Centennial Hymn—The Result of the Exhibition—Its Close.

THE year 1876 was not only a "Presidential year," but a "Centennial year," in the life of the Republic. On the 4th of July was the anniversary of the great act which, supported by the people, secured to the thirteen English-American colonies their political independence of Great Britain.

When the Centennial year was approaching, the American people came to the conclusion that a celebration at that time would be appropriate. Taking a retrospective glance at the progress of the Republic during the century, they perceived that it was marvellous, in comparison with that of any nation on the globe. With pardonable egotism they resolved to display the result of that progress by an exhibition of the products of American industry, skill, science and invention, in a great fair to be held in 1876, and to invite the nations of the earth to bring their products to the same fair, in a spirit of generous rivalry in well-doing for the benefit of mankind.

Among those who first suggested a Centennial Exhibition, the names of John Bigelow, now (1877) Secretary of the State of New York; Charles B. Norton, United States Commissioner at the Paris exhibition in 1867; Professor John L. Campbell of Wabash College, Indiana, and M. Richards Muckle of Philadelphia. The last-named gentleman first suggested (in a letter written to President Grant, on the 4th of July, 1869) Fairmount Park, in Philadelphia, as an appropriate place for holding a grand musical celebration of one week's duration, by twelve hundred performers, in a building to be erected in the Park that would accommodate one hundred thousand persons. The first recorded suggestion "that the Centennial celebration involve

an *International Exhibition* to be held in Philadelphia," was made in a letter, written in 1866, by Professor Campbell.

The idea of a Centennial celebration was nebulous, at first, in the public mind, but it soon assumed regular form and a luminous aspect. And when Philadelphia was first suggested as the most appropriate place for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, there was universal approval. In that city the resolution declaring the English-American colonies to be "free and independent States," was drawn up, and adopted by the Continental Congress. In that city the great preamble to that Declaration was written, adopted by the Congress, and signed by a majority of the members of that body; and in that city, the hall was yet in existence in which the Congress was convened when the great act was performed. At what other place could that celebration be as appropriately held? None whatever.

The first practical step toward making Philadelphia the theatre of the proposed event, was taken by the Franklin Institute of that city, in an address to the municipal authorities thereof, in which the use of Fairmount Park for a Centennial celebration was asked for. When this address was presented, a resolution for the appointment of a committee of seven from each chamber of the city legislature was adopted, and the measure was carried into effect. John L. Shoemaker was appointed chairman of that Joint Committee, and steps were immediately taken to interest the State and National legislatures in the project.

The Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, by resolution, asked the National Congress to take action in favor of a Centennial celebration to be held in the city of Philadelphia, and appointed a committee of ten to visit Washington and present a memorial to Congress on the subject. This committee was joined by that appointed by the Councils of Philadelphia, and they arranged a memorial which was laid before Congress by the Hon. William Kelley, a representative of Pennsylvania. He warmly urged the claims of Philadelphia to the privilege and honor of having such celebration within her borders. Early in March, 1870, Hon. Daniel J. Morrell (also a representative of Pennsylvania) offered a bill providing for a celebration in or near Philadelphia, in 1876. That bill was afterward modified somewhat, and, being adopted, became a law by receiving the willing signature of President Grant on the 3d of March, 1871. At that time the character of the celebration was clearly defined. It was determined to make it a purely national affair—the occasion of a display of the products of our own country. The object of the act was clearly set forth in the following preamble to the bill:

“Whereas, The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America was prepared, signed and promulgated in 1776, in the city of Philadelphia; and

“Whereas, It behooves the people of the United States to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, the Centennial anniversary of this memorable and decisive event, which constituted the 4th day of July, A. D. 1776, the birthday of the nation; and

“Whereas, It is deemed fitting that the completion of the first century of our national existence shall be commemorated by an exhibition of the national resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind, in comparison with those of older nations; and

“Whereas, No place is so appropriate for such an exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it is designed to commemorate; and

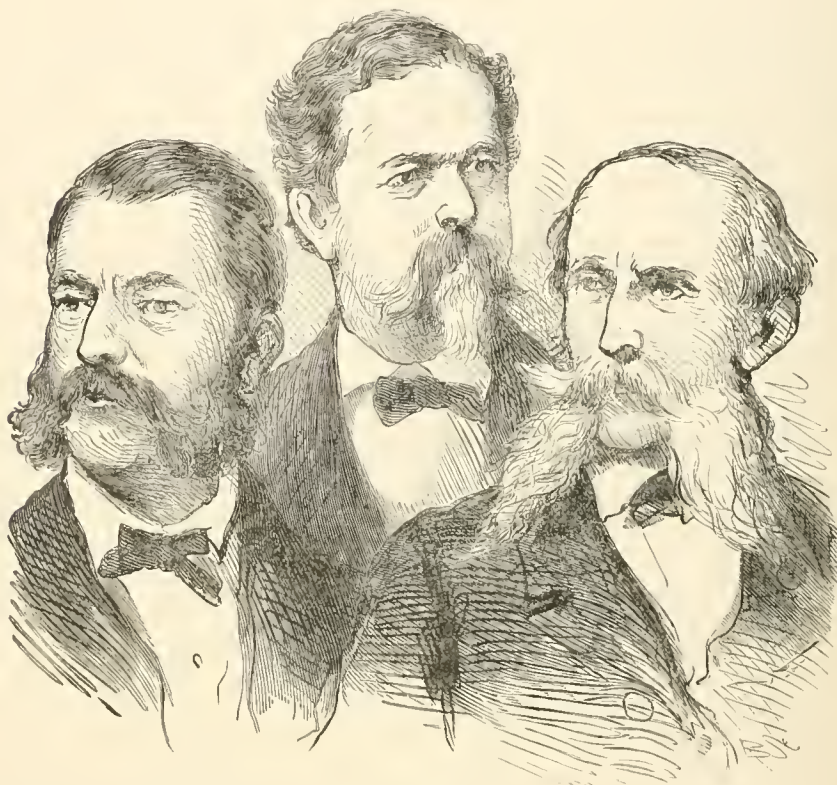
“Whereas, As the exhibition should be a national celebration in which the people of the whole country should participate, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States; therefore,” etc.

The bill provided for a National Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, and to be composed of one commissioner and one alternate commissioner for each State and Territory in the Union; these commissioners to be nominated by the governors of the respective States and Territories. The bill also provided for the celebration or exhibition to be held at Philadelphia, and secured the National Government against all liability for any expenses or losses incident to the conduct of the affair.

Under the provisions of this bill the President appointed commissioners and alternate commissioners, and these were named as corporators. They were invited to assemble at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1872, for the purpose of effecting an organization. On the appointed day, representatives of twenty-four States, three Territories and the District of Columbia, were present. In a parlor of the Continental Hotel they were temporarily organized, when they proceeded in a body to Independence Hall, in the State-House, where they were received with an address of welcome by the mayor of the city (Mr. Stokeley), which was responded to by General Jos. R. Hawley of Connecticut. In another room, they made a permanent organization, by the appointment of General Hawley President of the Centennial Commission, and other officers. Some changes were afterward made; and at the opening of the Centennial year, the following persons composed the officers of the Commission: *President*, Joseph R. Hawley; *Vice-Presidents*,

Orestes Cleveland, John D. Creigh, Robert Lowry, Thomas H. Coldwell, John McNeil, and William Gurney; *Director-General*, Alfred T. Goshorn; *Secretary*, John L. Campbell; *Counsellor and Solicitor*, John L. Shoemaker.

On the first of June, 1872, Congress passed an act by which provision was made for a *Centennial Board of Finance*. The members of this board were authorized to secure subscriptions to a capital stock not exceeding



GOSHORN.

HAWLEY.

WELSH.

\$10,000,000, in shares of \$10 each. Provision was also made for the opening of books of subscription to the stock on the 21st of November, 1872, to be kept open one hundred days, in order to give citizens in each State and Territory an opportunity to subscribe for the stock. Under this act, a meeting of the corporators and subscribers to the stock was held in Philadelphia after the expiration of the one hundred days, to choose the *Centennial Board of Finance*—another name for a board of directors. The meeting

was held in the spring of 1873, when a board was chosen consisting of twenty-five stockholders. It was organized by the appointment of John Welsh of Philadelphia, *President*; William Sellers of Philadelphia and John S. Barbour of Virginia, *Vice-Presidents*, and Frederick Fraley of Philadelphia, *Secretary and Treasurer*. The remainder of the twenty-five were appointed *Directors*. William Bigler was chosen *Financial Agent*; Henry Pettit, Joseph M. Wilson and H. Swarzmman, *Engineers and Architects*; and an *Executive Committce* of thirteen, with Myers Asch, Secretary.

An official seal was adopted. It was quite simple in design and elegantly executed. The title of the organization—*The United States Centennial Commission*—was placed in concentric circles around the edge of the seal. In the centre was a view of the State-House as it appeared when the Declaration of Independence was signed in its principal room; and beneath the building were the words which were cast on the State-House bell, many years before the Revolution, and which, in the summer of 1776, had great significance: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

Very soon after the organization of the *Centennial Commission*, it was determined to make the affair international instead of national—an exhibition of the products of the industry of *all nations*. Fairmount Park was engaged for the Exhibition. That Park consists of extensive public grounds belonging to the city of Philadelphia, through which the Schuylkill River flows in a sinuous course about seven miles. The work of preparing the grounds for the erection of buildings for the Exhibition was begun in the spring of 1873, and on the 4th of July that year the Park Commissioners formally surrendered a portion of the grounds designated for the Exhibition into the custody of the *Centennial Commission*, with imposing ceremonies. The act took place in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens. Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, opened the proceedings by a prayer, when Hon. Morton McMichael, President of the Park Commission, made the surrender, with a brief address. General Hawley followed with a short discourse, formally accepting the grounds, and closed with the direction that the National flag should be unfurled and saluted. When it was spread to the gentle breeze, the trumpeter of the "City Troop" gave a signal blast. Then the "Keystone Battery," stationed near, fired thirteen guns in honor of the event. A military review, a banquet, and fireworks succeeded. The plat of ground assigned for the Exhibition contained four hundred and sixty-five acres, and occupied a plateau, on rising ground.

Before the transfer of the ground, the President of the United States

had issued a proclamation, setting forth that an exhibition of "arts, manufactures, and the products of the soil and mines" would be held at the city of Philadelphia, beginning on the 19th of April, and ending on the 19th of October, 1876. The proclamation concluded with the following words :

"And in the interest of peace, civilization, and domestic and international friendship and intercourse, I commend the Celebration and Exhibition to the people of the United States; and in behalf of the Government and people, I cordially commend them to all nations who may be pleased to take part therein."

The Secretary of State (Hamilton Fish) immediately addressed a note to all the foreign ministers in the United States (in which he inclosed the President's proclamation and the regulations adopted by the Commission), setting forth the objects of the Exhibition. In that note the Secretary said :

"The President indulges the hope that the government of _____ will be pleased to notice the subject, and may deem it proper to bring the Exhibition and its objects to the attention of the people of that country, and thus encourage their co-operation in the proposed Celebration. And he further hopes that the opportunity afforded by the Exhibition for the interchange of national sentiment and friendly intercourse between the people of both nations, may result in new and still greater advantages to science and industry, and at the same time serve to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship which already happily subsist between the government and people of _____ and those of the United States."

The question had been discussed, for a long time, in and out of Congress, whether the Exhibition should be national or international. It had finally been settled by an act of Congress, passed in June, 1874, which requested the President to extend, in the name of the United States, "a respectful and cordial invitation to the governments of other nations to be represented and take part in the Centennial Exposition."

Congress also passed an act authorizing the striking of medals commemorative of the first meeting of the Continental Congress, and the Declaration of Independence. These were prepared at the United States Mint in Philadelphia, and were appropriate in design and elegant in workmanship. That which commemorated the Declaration of Independence bore upon one side a feminine figure that represented the Genius of Liberty, with a sword buckled to her girdle. On a shield, leaning at rest, were the

Stars and Stripes. Liberty extended both her hands in token of welcome, in each of which was a chaplet which she presented respectively to two other feminine figures representing Art and Science. These had brought evidences of their skill and craft to do honor to the occasion indicated by the date of 1876 inscribed on the platform. Around the device were the words: "IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE," and "ACT OF CONGRESS, JUNE, 1874." On the other side of the medal was a feminine figure representing the Genius of America, just rising from a recumbent position, and grasping a sword in her right hand, while her left hand was raised toward a galaxy of thirteen stars, which indicated the original thirteen colonies. Beneath this figure was the date, 1776. Around the whole were the words from Richard Henry Lee's resolution, passed on the 2d of July, 1776: "THESE COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES."

On the 18th of July, 1874, Congress passed an act for the admission free of duties, of all articles intended for the Exhibition; and the preliminary work and arrangements being completed, contracts were made for the erection of suitable buildings for the Exhibition. These were five in number, and were erected at a total cost of \$4,444,000. They were named, respectively, the "Main Exhibition Building," "Memorial Hall or Art Gallery," "Machinery Hall," "Horticultural Hall," and "Agricultural Hall."

The "Memorial Hall" and "Horticultural Hall" were elegant structures, and remain as permanent buildings in Fairmount Park. They are a constant source of pleasure to thousands of visitors.

Memorial Hall or Art Gallery was the first building erected. The construction of it was begun on the 4th of July, 1874, and cost \$1,500,000. Horticultural Hall was begun on the first of April, 1875, and cost \$251,937. A week later Machinery Hall was begun, and cost \$792,000. In May, that year, the Main Building, covering twenty-one acres and a half, was begun, and cost \$1,600,000; and Agricultural Hall was begun on the 15th of October, 1875, and cost \$300,000. It was the last one completed, having been finished on the first day of February, 1876. These several buildings covered about forty-nine acres of ground, and had annexes that covered twenty-six acres, making a total of seventy-five acres; a much greater space than was ever before covered by any Exhibition buildings. Besides these there were numerous other structures erected by national and individual exhibitors, and by our several States and Territories, making the whole number on the Centennial grounds one hundred and ninety.

The managers of the Exhibition classified it into seven departments, namely, Mining and Metallurgy, Manufactures, Education and Science, Art,

Machinery, Agriculture, and Horticulture. From the beginning, the women of our country manifested great interest in the enterprise; and when, in the summer of 1875, it was found that applications for space from foreign countries were so numerous that, under the rules for classification, much work done by women would be thrown out, or lost among the crowd of masculine exhibitors, a separate building for women was suggested. The idea created much enthusiasm among the women of our land, and very soon, through their exertions, ample means were provided for the erection and equipment of such a building. Under the leadership of Mrs. E. D. Gillespie of Philadelphia, and with the sanction of the Centennial Commission, a *Women's Centennial Committee* was formed, composed of active women in various States and Territories. Mrs. Gillespie was appointed *President*; Mrs. John Sanders, *Vice-President*; Mrs. Frank M. Etting, *Secretary*, and Mrs. S. A. Irwin, *Treasurer*.

A *Woman's Executive Committee* was formed, composed of Philadelphians. They proposed to erect a building for the exhibition of the highest types of women's work, in sculpture, painting, literature, engraving, telegraphy, lithography, needlework, education of all kinds, etc., at a cost of \$30,000. It was done, and much more. An appeal was made to the women of the United States, and in the space of a hundred days, they had contributed a sum sufficient for the building and for interior decorations. A sub-committee of the Women's Executive Committee gathered a vast amount of information concerning women's work in religious, philanthropic and patriotic efforts, which include their labors in homes, asylums, missionary fields at home and abroad, sisterhoods, industrial schools, and in the cause of temperance and moral reform. The women of our land also contributed to the general fund of the Centennial Commission more than \$100,000. The building which they erected was an elegant structure, covering thirty thousand square feet, and was called the "Women's Pavilion." In it was displayed in profusion the products of women's fingers. Among them were elegant needlework from a royal institution in London, and etchings by the hand of Victoria, late queen of England.

The time for the opening and closing the Centennial Exhibition was changed to the 10th of May and the 10th of November. With good judgment, perseverance and untiring industry, the managers pushed forward the preparations for opening at the appointed time. *Ten million dollars* were required for the purpose. That was a large sum to be raised by voluntary subscription at any time. Since the beginning of the preparations, the country had suffered from an unusually protracted depression in all industrial pursuits; yet the people of the country responded nobly to the drafts

on their patriotism and their purses. But at the opening of the Centennial year there were yet lacking for the completion of the preparations \$1,500,000. Congress was appealed to for the amount. More than thirty nations had accepted the invitation of our Government to participate in the Exhibition, and were preparing to come with their industrial treasures; and every patriotic American felt that nothing should be wanting to make the Exhibition what it had promised to be. And yet there was seen in Congress the mortifying spectacle of a powerful minority, who opposed a bill for the appropriation of that amount, and voted against it. The act was passed, however; but the appropriation was made still less gracious and more conspicuously unpatriotic by a feature which required the Centennial Commission to refund the amount to the Government in the event of any surplus remaining after the expenses were paid. This was actually done, to the full amount.

The great Centennial Exhibition was opened on the 10th of May, 1876. The morning dawned with a lowering sky, as preceding mornings had done, and there were the usual threatenings of a rainy day. But the weather-prophet at the Signal Office in Washington had predicted, at midnight, "clearing weather," and so truthful are his utterances generally, that the people believed them then, and prepared for the enjoyment of a fine day. Nor were they disappointed.

On that May morning, the city of Philadelphia was brilliantly clothed in Stars and Stripes. Our national banner floated over every pinnacle, and waved from almost every window and balcony when the hour of sunrise came and the clouds that overspread the heavens began to break. At about nine o'clock a vast flood of strangers and citizens began to flow toward the Centennial grounds. It increased every moment, and soon filled the broad street in front of the main entrance. Only privileged ones were permitted to enter first—the Women's Committee, and representatives in Congress and of foreign governments. A large number of the Women's Work Committee, each decorated with a brilliant silver star, led the van. These, with our own and foreign representatives, took seats upon a large platform which had been erected in front of Memorial Hall, under the flag of their respective nations. Before ten o'clock, Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil (the only foreign potentate present), with his empress leaning upon his arm, arrived, and took his seat under the Brazilian flag, greeted by the cheers of the immense multitude that thronged the grounds in that vicinity. More than one hundred thousand had passed through the gates, and stood in a surging mass, while the orchestra of Theodore Thomas, placed near the front of the platform, played airs that were familiar to the ears of representatives of the

nations present, closing with our own "Hail Columbia!" These sweet sounds repressed, in a great degree, the rising passions of the much-jostled multitude. The sun had burst forth in splendor, and the promises at his rising were fulfilled.

At length the President of the United States appeared upon the platform, accompanied by his wife, when the orchestra performed the "Grand Centennial March," prepared for the occasion by the eminent German composer, Richard Wagner. Then Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, uttered fervent thanksgivings to the Almighty, in the name of our people, for his great goodness in the past, and implored His blessings in the future. He specially asked the bestowal of great mercies upon the women of our land who, then, for the first time in the history of our race, had taken so conspicuous a part in a national celebration. "May the light of their intelligence, purity and enterprise," he said, "shed its beams afar, until, in distant lands, their sisters may realize the beauty and glory of Christian freedom and elevation."

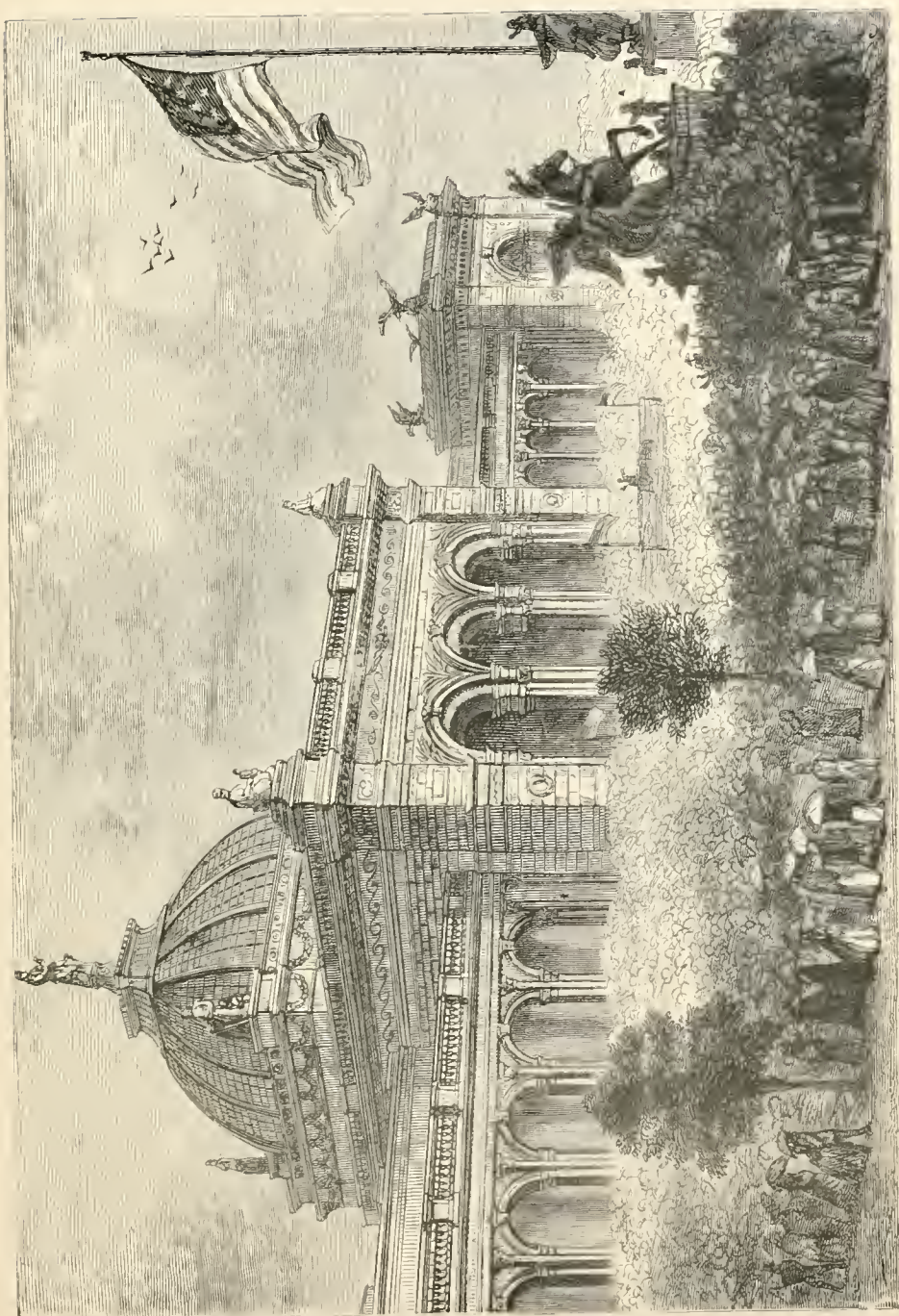
When the prayer was ended, choral music went up from the lips of a thousand singers on the platform, who chanted the following beautiful and impressive "Centennial Hymn," composed by John Greenleaf Whittier, accompanied by the organ and the whole orchestra:

Our father's God, from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done
And trust Thee for the opening one.

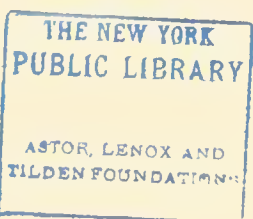
Here where of old, by Thy design,
The fathers spake that word of Thine,
Whose echo is the glad refrain
Of rended bolt and falling chain,
To grace our festal time, from all
The zones of earth our guests we call.

Be with us while the New World greets
The Old World thronging all its streets,
Unvailing all the triumphs won
By art or toil beneath the sun;
And unto common good ordain
This rivalry of hand and brain.

Thou who hast here in concord furled
The war-flags of a gathered world,
Beneath our western skies fulfill
The Orient's mission of good-will,



OPENING OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION AT PHILADELPHIA, MAY 10, 1876



And freighted with Love's golden fleece,
Send back the Argonauts of peace.

For Art and Labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of Use,
We thank Thee while withal we crave
The austere virtues strong to save;
The honor, proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought and sold.

O ! make thou us, through centuries long
In peace secure, in justice strong ;
Around our gift of Freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law,
And, cast in some diviner mould,
Let the new cycle shame the old !

When the chanting of that grand hymn was ended, the Hon. John Welsh, President of the *Centennial Board of Finance*, formally presented the buildings to the *United States Centennial Commission*. Then a cantata, composed by Sidney Lanier, of Georgia, and set to exquisite music by Mr. Buck, was sung, when General Hawley, president of the Centennial Commission, at the close of a short speech, presented the Exhibition to the President of the United States. The latter made a brief response. At the end of these ceremonies, the American flag was unfurled over the great tower of the Main Building, as a signal to the multitude that the Centennial Exhibition was open. That multitude listened to (or joined in) the singing of Handel's magnificent Hallelujah Chorus, and then, dispersing, spread over the grounds and through the great buildings.

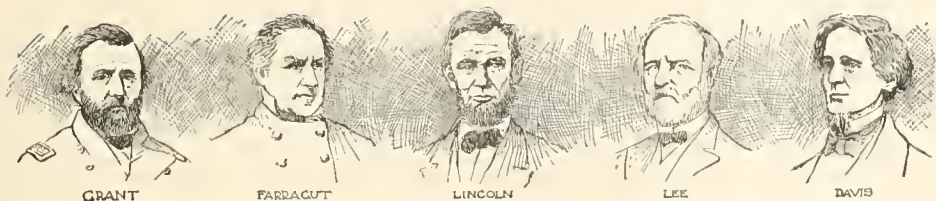
The Centennial Exhibition was eminently successful in every aspect of the affair. The management was judicious throughout; the police regulations and the provisions for comfort and security were perfect; and its financial success, considering the depressed state of the business of the country, was decided. In the extent of the Exhibition space, the amount and variety of the products of industry there gathered, and the number of the visitors, this "World's Fair" exceeded all others that had preceded it, either municipal, national, or international. The buildings of the first International Exhibition, held in London, in 1851, covered a space of twenty acres, and those of a similar Exhibition in 1862 covered a little over twenty-five acres. The buildings of the Paris Exhibition, in 1867, covered thirty-one acres, and those of Vienna, in 1873, covered fifty-six acres. The buildings constructed under the directions of the *Centennial Commission*, with their annexes, as we have observed (exclusive of those erected by the General and State governments), covered seventy-five acres. In these

buildings, thirty-three nations besides our own, exhibited the products of their industry, namely, Argentine Republic, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chili, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, India and British Colonies, Hawaiian Islands, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg Grand Duchy, Liberia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Orange Free State, Peru, Portugal, Russia, San Domingo, Spain and Spanish Colonies, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, and Venezuela.

The Centennial Exhibition was open for pay admissions one hundred and fifty-nine days, the pay-gates being closed on Sundays. The total number of cash admissions at fifty cents each was 7,250,620, and at twenty-five cents each, 753,654. The number of free admissions was 1,906,692, making a grand total of 9,910,965 admissions. During the very hot summer, the number of admissions were comparatively few. The smallest number in a full month was in July, when the weather was excessively hot, and the rural population were engaged in the harvests. The number was 906,447. The largest number of admissions in a full month, was in October, when 2,663,911 persons were admitted. The largest number admitted in a single day was 274,919. That was on the "Pennsylvania Day," Thursday, September 28th. The total amount of cash receipts during the Exhibition was \$3,813,725.50.

The Grand International Exhibition was closed on the 10th of November with appropriate ceremonies. After the performance of Wagner's "Inaugural March," a prayer, singing, and speeches by officers of the Centennial Commission, the President of the United States stepped to the front of the platform, and in quiet tones said to the multitude before him: "I now declare the Centennial Exhibition closed." Then the message—"The President has this moment closed the International Centennial Exhibition, 3:37 P. M., November 10, 1876"—was sent by telegraph all over the Union and across the seas; and the immense congregation joined in singing the Christian Doxology. The great Corliss engine that had driven acres of machinery for six months, gave one or two strokes, when the giant fell asleep and ceased to move. The American Centennial Exhibition had passed into history.

The close of this interesting and important exhibition is a favorable opportunity for briefly recapitulating the story of American Progress from the foundation of the Republic down to 1876. To this end, therefore, our next chapter is appropriately devoted.



CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

Growth, Extent and Population of Our Domain—Progress in Agriculture and Its Products—Mineral Wealth—Beginning of Manufactures—Early Industries and Their Productions—Value of Agricultural and Manufactured Products—Commerce, Foreign and Domestic—Post Routes—Canals—The West—Steamboats and Railways—Banking and Insurance—Electro-Magnetic Telegraph and Its Uses—Weather Signals—Religious Denominations—Conclusion.

THE progress of our Republic in all departments of activity during the past one hundred years has been marvellous. In 1776, its domain comprised only a narrow border of the continent along the ocean coasts for almost a thousand miles, with an average width between the sea and the lofty Alleghany mountains of about thirty leagues. The extent of the domain of the new-born Republic was then 800,000 square miles; now it forms an irregular belt across the continent from ocean to ocean, embracing an area of 3,500,000 square miles of land and water. Our population in 1776 was a little more than a million and a half; now it is full eighty million.

Agriculture, the primary source of wealth, woos manufactures as a help-mate, and these, wedded, become the parents of commerce. The latter promotes social refinement as manifested by the cultivation of the fine arts, science, literature and education; and these foster true religion and morality, the basis of highest civilization. These processes of growth may be seen in the history of our country within the past one hundred years.

Agriculture here, in 1776, was simply an art, not a science. The tillers were ignorant of the principles of vegetable production and followed the methods of their forefathers, without question. The country was sparsely settled; and social attrition, which expands the mind, was then very slight. The implements of labor, made by common carpenters or blacksmiths, were very rude. They were nearly all moved by human muscle, for the use of labor-saving machinery was unknown in our country, and improvements were opposed as innovations. Farm work was then far more laborious and less productive than now. The plow of that day required more than double the strength of man and beast to manage it than does the plow at present; and the improvements made in that implement alone, within the last fifty

(1761)

years, save, annually, to the farmers of our country in the cost of work and teams, at least \$12,000,000. A large proportion of the agricultural work was performed then by negro slaves in the region south of Baltimore; and in the loose soil of the cotton-growing States, the hoe was the substitute for the plow in the hands of men and women.

The cereals, potatoes, flax and tobacco, were the chief products of the soil in 1776; for the cultivation of the cotton-plant, as an article of com-



CULTIVATION BY SLAVES.

merce, was then unknown. The invention of Whitney's Cotton-Gin, for separating the seed from the fibre, gave a wonderful impetus to this branch of agriculture in the closing decade of the 18th century. That machine performed the work of a thousand hands, and made the cotton culture profitable. The entire production of cotton in the United States, in 1791, was 2,000,000 pounds; 100 years later the average annual product was over 1,500,000,000 pounds. It is estimated that one-half of the entire cotton product of the earth is raised in the United States.

The seed of our cereals was all sown by hand a hundred years ago, and the standing grain was cut with a sickle and threshed with a flail. Now

drills scatter the seed, and ingenious machines not only cut the crop and gather it into sheaves, but thresh and winnow it for market. Then the hay crop was cut with a hand-scythe, and cured and gathered entirely by human labor; now ingenious machines do all that labor with very little of man's strength. These machines and a hundred others that now do the work of men's hands, have nearly all been invented within fifty years.

In 1776, almost the whole agricultural products of our country, including live-stock, were used for the support of the million and a half inhabitants; in 1876 42,000,000 were fed and largely clothed from the products of our soil, while a vast surplus of our cereal and fibrous productions were sent to other countries. In 1870, there were 189,000,000 acres of improved farm land in our country, which produced in cereals (in round numbers) wheat, 288,000,000 bushels; rye, 17,000,000; Indian corn, 761,000,000; oats, 282,000,000; barley, 30,000,000; buckwheat, 10,000,000 bushels; and rice, 74,000,000 pounds. Of the common potato, there were raised 143,000,000 bushels, and of the sweet potato, 22,000,000 bushels. The hay crop amounted to 28,000,000 tons, and the tobacco crop to 363,000,000 pounds. Of the principal fibrous products there were raised that year over 1,200,000,000 pounds of cotton. The average annual product, as we have observed, is now greater. The amount of flax raised was 27,000,000 pounds; wool, 100,000,000 pounds; silk cocoons about 4,000 pounds, and 13,000 tons of hemp.

There were also produced 87,000 hogsheads of cane sugar, and 28,000,000 pounds of maple sugar; also nearly 7,000,000 gallons of molasses from the cane, 16,000,000 gallons from sorghum cane, and 921,000 gallons of maple molasses. Fruit culture in our country was so limited that it was not recognized in the national census until 1840. Orchards were small, and bore inferior fruit; and there was scarcely a nursery for the sale of apple-trees in our broad land sixty years ago; now there are hundreds, and full 30,000,000 trees are sold annually. In 1870, the products of our orchards were valued at \$48,000,000; and the total value of the increasing grape crop in the United States, cannot now be less than \$30,000,000. The choicest varieties of fruit and berries are now cultivated everywhere in the Republic.

On the same acreage of unimproved farm lands there were, in 1870, not less than 7,200,000 horses; 1,125,000 mules; 9,000,000 cows; 1,320,000 working oxen; 13,570,000 other cattle; 29,000,000 sheep, and more than 25,000,000 swine. These animals are now far superior in every way to those on the farms a hundred years ago. In 1768, Washington recorded in his diary, that with one hundred cows on his Mount Vernon estate, he was compelled to buy butter for his family. In 1870, the dairy products of our

cows, annually, were 514,000,000 pounds of butter; 54,000,000 pounds of cheese, and 236,000,000 gallons of milk, not used in the manufacture of butter and cheese. This gave more than twelve pounds of butter (besides cheese and milk) to every man, woman and child in the land. In 1790, when the first census was taken and the population was about 4,000,000, the value of the agricultural products of our country was about \$150,000,000; in 1870, the value including crops, live-stock, "betterments," forest, garden and orchard products, was estimated at almost \$3,000,000,000.

Out of the bosom of our country a vast amount of mineral wealth has been drawn within a comparatively few years—coal, iron, copper, lead, petroleum and the precious metals. Only within a little more than fifty years, mineral coal has become an article of domestic commerce with us. In 1820, there were sent to market only 365 tons of anthracite; in 1870, the annual production was about 25,000,000 tons. The entire coal product of our country annually, is over 50,000,000 tons, one-half of which is bituminous. Pennsylvania alone produces seventy-two per cent of the amount.

Iron has been known to exist in abundance, in our country, ever since the first settlements; but the restrictive commercial policy of Great Britain caused it to be left almost untouched until after the Revolution. Then, with manufactures freed from restraint, it was mined in ever-increasing quantities, until now the product is enormous, a greater portion of which is used in the manufactures of our own country. Copper is not very abundant in the United States. In 1870, there were forty copper-mining establishments here, and the value of their annual product was about \$5,200,000. Our lead mines seem to be decreasing in their yield, the amount of production being now less than 20,000 tons a year. Petroleum, a new article of commerce among our mineral wealth, has been a marvel of production. It was first made a marketable product about fifteen years ago; in 1875, we exported 220,000,000 gallons of petroleum, chiefly as kerosene or other illuminating oils, besides a vast amount consumed at home.

The production of the precious metals drawn from the bosom of the earth in our country, has been remarkable only within about forty-five years. At the time when gold was discovered in California (1848) only a small amount of that metal had found its way to our Mint, and that chiefly from the Southern States. The value of the total amount of that metal mined in those States, from the time of its first discovery until 1873, was only \$20,500,000. From 1848 to 1873, the total value of the gold product of our country, was \$1,241,000,000. Very little silver had been found here until after gold had been discovered in California. Our country was not

known as a silver-producing region; but the gold miners of California, who became numerous and ambitious when "prospecting," discovered rich deposits of silver. Now the United States contains the greatest silver-producing regions on the globe, the average annual yield being not less in value than \$100,000,000, and is continually increasing.



MINERS AT WORK.

The growth of manufactures and the mechanic arts in the United States is the work of less than a hundred years. Before the Revolution these were discouraged in the colonies, as we have seen, by the British government; and it was only when necessity compelled the people, during the war for independence, to carry on domestic manufactures, that such industries may be said to have existed here. It was almost simultaneous with the departure of the last British soldier from our shores, in 1783, that Oliver Evans introduced his grain-mill, and Fitch and Rumsey proved the

possibility of navigation by steam. The first cotton-mill in the United States was set in motion at Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787; and the only woolen mill in our country was in operation at Hartford, when Samuel Slater, in 1790, introduced Arkwright's spinning-machine, and so laid the foundation of the manufacture of textile fabrics here as a national industry. Already the manufacture of iron had been begun, and the inventive genius of the American people was aroused to action. The records of our Patent Office give indications of its ever-increasing activity. During the ten years ending with 1800, the number of patents issued in the United States was 306; during the ten years ending in 1870, the number was 79,612. From 1790 to 1870, the whole number issued was 120,028. Within that period, the steam-vessel, locomotive and railway, electro-magnetic telegraph and sewing-machine—all perfected inventions by Americans—appeared, with thousands of other mechanical contrivances which have made ours a leading manufacturing nation. Our iron is fashioned into everything of which it is capable, from the tiny watch-screw that requires 150,000 to weigh a pound, to the locomotive and railway bridge. In 1870, we manufactured cotton goods valued at \$178,000,000, and woolen goods estimated at \$155,000,000; and the same year we curried over 13,000,000 sides and skins of leather, which we manufactured into goods valued at almost \$377,000,000. Even so late as 1840, ours was eminently an agricultural nation; but in 1870, the value of our manufactures, that year, was \$4,133,000,000, or over \$1,300,000,000 more than the estimated value of our agricultural productions of every kind. There was an increase in the value of our manufactures from 1850 to 1870, a period of twenty years, of three hundred per cent. The assessed value of the real and personal property of the 4,000,000 inhabitants, in 1790, was \$479,293,000; in 1870, it was \$13,700,000,000, exclusive of the Government property.

The commerce of our country has had a wonderful growth within about a century. In colonial times, as we have observed, the restrictive policy of Great Britain kept it within very narrow bounds. The total value of the products of the colonies exported in 1770, was \$14,262,000; in 1790, it was a little more than \$20,000,000. From the adoption of the National Constitution in 1789, the expansion of our commerce has been wonderful. The total value of our exports of domestic and foreign productions, during the year ending with June, 1875, was over \$600,000,000. We also export a large amount of the precious metals, in bullion. As in colonial times, so until a very recent period, the trade between Great Britain and our country constitutes a large proportion of our external commerce. Five-twelfths of our exports are to and imports from Great Britain; while one-sixth of the

total of the exports and imports of that country, are to and from the United States. It has been estimated that the sea-going vessels that convey the world's commerce is nearly 63,000, of which number more than one-half belong to Great Britain and the United States; and that these two Anglo-Saxon nations carry sixty-six per cent. of the world's aggregate tonnage.

Our inland navigation and commerce are of vast dimensions. A hundred years ago the inland trade was carried on chiefly by means of pack-horses or mules, and clumsy wheeled-vehicles on land, and on the lakes and rivers by canoes, bateaux, and sloops. The steamboat and the railroad were then undreamed of, and the canal was only in embryo in the minds of a few men. The roads were wretched everywhere; and the incessant toil of muscle was the hard condition imposed upon our internal commerce. Our postal arrangements, which are essential helps in facilitating and simplifying the operations of commerce, were then very meagre. The entire length of post-routes in 1776 was 1,875 miles; in 1876 the entire length was 278,000 miles. Of this number, over 70,000 miles was by railroads, and nearly 16,000 miles by steamboats. The entire receipts of the General Post-Office in fifteen months, ending in November, 1776, were \$27,900, and the expenditures were \$32,142. In 1875, the annual receipts of the Post-Office Department were \$26,672,000, and the expenditures were \$33,613,000. Included in expenditures were about \$6,000,000 granted by the National Treasury.

The first great improvement in our internal commercial facilities was the beginning of our canal system at the close of the last century; but the effects were small until the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, which soon revealed the possibilities of agriculture and commerce in the Great West. At that period the vast inland seas—the great lakes—with a total length of 1,500 miles, and an aggregate area of about 90,000 square miles, and draining a fertile region 336,000 square miles in extent, had no commerce of consequence on their bosoms. So late as 1819, when there was a steamboat on Lake Erie, the principal traffic in all the lake regions was carried on with the Indians, who came to ports in canoes with peltry and furs to exchange for the products of the Eastern States, borne upon the bosom of the waters in sloops and schooners. Now the Indian has disappeared from our commerce; and the value of the products of "the West," transported on the land and water vehicles, may be estimated by hundreds of millions of dollars. The canal, the steamboat and the railway, have caused large cities to spring up in desolate places, and the wilderness to bud and "blossom as the rose." Chicago, which was composed of vacant village lots in a wild and almost unknown region of our continent forty-five years

ago, was in 1876 a city of 300,000 inhabitants, and the greatest grain market and centre of internal commerce in the world. Its entire trade amounted in that year to \$450,000,000.

When the Erie Canal was first conceived, the steamboat and the railway were unknown in our land. It is only ninety years since the first successful steamboat made a voyage between New York and Albany; and it is



TRAFFIC WITH THE INDIANS.

only about seventy years ago that a railroad three miles in length was first put in operation in our country. The first American locomotive was built by Peter Cooper, of New York. In 1876, the extent of our railways was 73,000 miles, and these represented a capital stock of \$2,000,000,000. Full 20,000 miles of these roads were built and equipped between 1850 and 1860, at a cost of \$720,000,000. For the benefit of the commerce of the United States and the world, we are now contemplating the construction of a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama, at a cost of more than \$150,000,000.

In banking and insurance, commerce finds important auxiliaries. The Bank of North America, founded at Philadelphia in 1781, with a capital of \$400,000, was the first one established in our country. After the National

Government went into operation and commercial activity became very great, the number of banks rapidly increased; and when the civil war broke out in 1861, the number was 1,562. During that war a National system of banking was organized, and at the beginning of 1876, the number of banks formed under it was over two thousand, with an aggregate capital of more than \$500,000,000. Savings banks were first established in the United States in 1816. These useful institutions have rapidly increased in numbers and importance, and in 1876 had an aggregate amount of deposits of about \$810,000,000.

The first Fire Insurance Company in our country was organized in 1752, in Philadelphia, and is still in existence. Such companies have rapidly increased in numbers and capital within ten or fifteen years, and in 1876 they represented a stock capital of between \$55,000,000 and \$60,000,000. Marine Insurance had been conducted here by individuals. It was late in the 19th century before a regular Life Insurance Company was organized. The first was the "Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company," established in 1825. These companies also have recently increased in numbers and capital. One of them—the New York Life Insurance Company—in 1876 had assets amounting to more than \$30,000,000.

The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, perfected by Professor S. F. B. Morse, an American, a little more than fifty years ago, is one of the most efficient aids of commerce now known. It is a perpetual wonder, as the astonishing developments of its capabilities for good are rapidly revealed. Only a short time ago, it was discovered that messages might be transmitted over a wire each way at the same moment; now audible words and musical sounds may be transmitted to any required distance. This invention seems to be in its infancy. In 1846, three men conducted the entire telegraph business in the United States, from a dingy basement in New York city; now myriads of persons are employed in that business, in the city of New York alone; and one company (the Western Union), which monopolizes the business, has a building chiefly used for that purpose, which cost \$2,000,000. In 1876 there were nearly 80,000 miles of telegraphic communication over the surface of our Republic alone. The telegraph is aiding commerce and agriculture potentially by the operations of Weather Signals, a system of meteorological observations originated by General Albert J. Myer of our army, some years ago. By it, knowledge of the state of the weather in various parts of our Union is transmitted by telegraph simultaneously to the Signal Bureau at Washington, and thence sent immediately by telegraph all over the land, with predictions concerning the state of the weather, in different sections of the Union, twenty-four hours afterward. Agriculture and commerce are

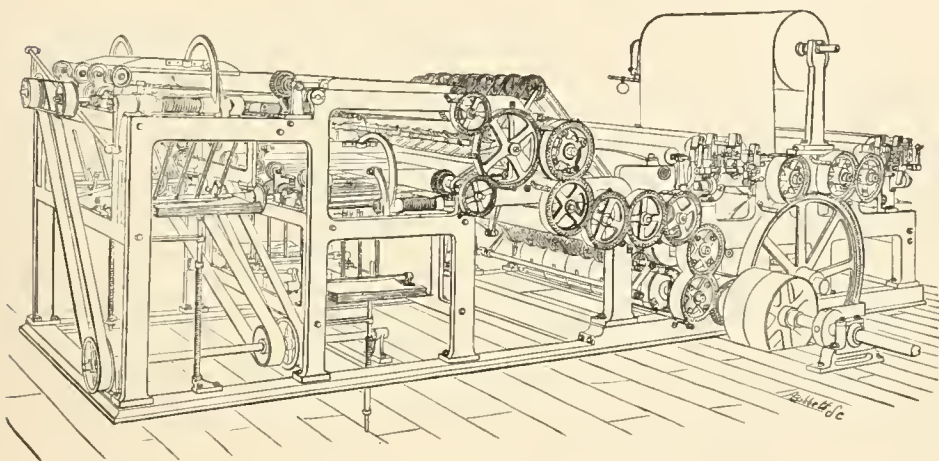
greatly benefited by these forewarnings. This American system of weather signalling has been adopted in the eastern hemisphere.

Popular education has made great advancement in our country within the present century, and especially within the last sixty years, by means of the common school and the printing-press. In 1776, there were seven colleges in this country for the higher education of the young; but the common schools were very inferior. Those colleges are yet flourishing institutions; but the common schools—the seminaries for the people—have now the real substantial work of education under their control. The colleges have increased in numbers, from seven in 1776, to three hundred and forty-nine in 1876. The increase in the school population has been wonderful within twenty-five years. In 1876 it was over 13,000,000. Of these, about 6,000,000 are enrolled on the records of public schools. Within a very few years, higher seminaries of learning for young women have been provided, and are flourishing. The first college proper for women, ever established, was founded by Matthew Vassar, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and was opened in 1865. The other colleges of the land are now making way for the introduction of feminine students. Sabbath-schools are also doing a great work in the field of popular education. The first one was opened by the Methodists, in Virginia, in 1786; in 1876 they numbered 70,000, with over 753,000 teachers, and 6,000,000 pupils.

The printing-press not only multiplies books at a cheaper rate for popular education, but by newspapers and magazines it scatters knowledge broadcast over the land. A century ago, the number of newspapers in the colonies was only thirty-seven, with an aggregate circulation of not more than 4,000 a week. In 1870, there were published in the United States, 5,871 newspapers, with an aggregate circulation of 20,843,000 daily or weekly, and a yearly issue of more than 1,500,000,000 copies. In 1776, the printing-presses then in use turned out about 250 sheets, printed on one side, in an hour; now the "power-press," like Hoe's, turns out 15,000 perfected newspapers in an hour, all folded for delivery. In 1776, the publishing of books was not an extensive business in our country, for readers were few; now the value of books issued each year from the American press cannot be less than \$60,000,000. One firm (Harper & Brothers) use \$3,000 worth of white paper a day in their publishing establishment. Our public and private libraries are rapidly increasing. In the space of ten years—1860 to 1870—the aggregate number of volumes in them increased from 13,316,000 to 45,500,000. In 1870, the number of libraries in our country was 164,815, of which 108,800 were private, containing a total of about twenty-six million volumes.

Literature, science, and art have kept pace in our country with material

progress. In these pursuits very few were employed in the infancy of the Republic; and from 1776 until the war of 1812 our most eminent writers were the earnest statesmen. After that period belles-lettres literature received more attention, and now no department in the republic of letters remains untouched by American authors. In the domain of science, American men and women now occupy a front rank among the philosophers; and our artists of both sexes rival those of Europe in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music. The painters have not made much advance in historical composition, but in landscape they are unsurpassed.



HOE'S POWER-PRESS. SEE PRINTING-PRESS ON PAGE 503.

Our physicians and surgeons hold a high place in the profession; and our benevolent institutions, especially those devoted to the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane and the idiotic, not only attest the skill and philosophy of the medical professors, but the generous philanthropy of our people: for these and the many homes for the orphans, the infirm and the friendless, are largely supported by private gifts.

The institutions above-named have all been established in our country within the century just closed, and their numbers and usefulness have kept pace with the population. In 1870, there were about 4,000 persons in our country who were deaf and dumb, of whom 1,900 were girls; 20,000 who were blind; 38,000 who were insane, and 24,500 who were idiotic. Of the insane, only 16,000 were in asylums; the remainder were at their homes or in alms-houses.

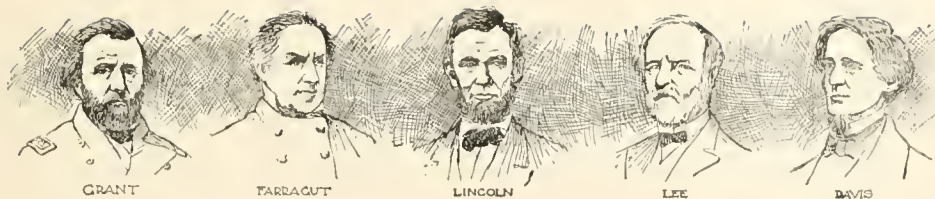
A hundred years ago, society here was largely composed of members of the leading religious societies—Baptists, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Friends, etc. The denominational line was then more sharply drawn than now, for there was much sectarian zeal and not a little bigotry. Since then, new religious societies have appeared, and there are now over fifty distinct ones in our country. In 1870, these bodies had an aggregate of 72,459 organizations; 63,082 edifices; 21,685,082 sittings, or about one sitting for every two of the population, and property valued at \$354,483,581. These churches made a rapid increase in membership and wealth in the twenty years ending in 1870. The number of organizations in 1850 was 38,062; sittings, 14,234,825; and their aggregate property was valued at \$87,328,801. To-day, the property in the United States devoted exclusively to religious purposes is valued at \$122,000,000.

With this brief outline sketch of the most important features of our National progress, material, intellectual and moral, during the century just closed, I will return to the narrative of OUR COUNTRY.

Here, on the threshold of another century of the existence of our beloved Republic, I ask you, my fellow-citizens, who have followed me in this delineation of its history, and especially the young people of our country, to be faithful to the sacred trust committed to you by the fathers. You are the guardians of the vestal fire of Liberty. Let it never grow dim in your keeping, but feed its living flame with generous self-sacrifices, that the struggling nations eager too feel its warmth may never be without a sure beacon to guide them to its altars and its temples. Young men and women, a glorious field of usefulness is before you. A white harvest calls for zealous reapers. Human progress, with all its varied labors and felicities, beckons you on. Be not unfaithful, be not idle; but work as God gives you opportunity.

"Young men of every creed! up and be doing now.
The time is come to 'run and read' with thoughtful eye and brow.
Extend your grasp to catch things unattained before;
Touch the quick springs of Reason's latch, and enter at her door.
The seeds of mind are sown in every human breast,
But dormant lie, unless we own the Spirit's high behest.
Look outwardly and *learn*; look inwardly and *think*;
And Truth and Love shall brighter burn o'er Error's wasting brink."

Dec. 1, 1876.



CHAPTER CXXXIX.

Impeachment of a Cabinet Officer—Amendment of the Constitution—Issue of Silver Currency—A “ Presidential Year ”— A Vigorous Political Campaign—Lawlessness in the South—Threatened Trouble There Provided against—The President’s Orders—A Committee of Observation—Action of Congress— Preliminary Committees—The Electoral Commission—Its Action— Hayes and Wheeler Declared Elected—Inauguration of Hayes— His Policy and His Cabinet—Disposition of Troops in the South—Improved Tone of Public Feeling—Appropriations Neglected— A Called Session of Congress—The Deficiencies—The Nez Percé Indians—War with Them—Sitting Bull.

A FEW weeks before the opening of the Centennial Exhibition, the country was startled by the public accusation of a cabinet minister of serious malfeasance in office. That minister was General William W. Belknap, the Secretary of War. He was charged with having received a bribe from a post-trader to whom he had granted permission to sell goods to any officer and private soldiers. Articles of impeachment were formally presented to the senate, on the 4th of April (1876), and when the day fixed for the commencement of the trial arrived, the Secretary’s counsel interposed the plea of non-jurisdiction. On the 29th of May the Senate decided that it had jurisdiction of the case, and it was determined to proceed with the prosecution. The arguments of counsel closed on the 26th of July, and on the first day of August the Senate voted on the verdict. The result was an acquittal.

Soon after this the Senate acted upon a proposed Amendment of the National Constitution concerning popular education. In his annual message in December, 1875, the President had recommended such action, and early in the session Mr. Blaine, of Maine, offered a joint resolution to that effect in the House of Representatives. The proposed Amendment (making the Sixteenth) was passed by the House by an almost unanimous vote. It was as follows :

“ ARTICLE XVI, *Section 1*.—No State shall make a law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public land devoted thereto,

shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination ; nor shall any fund so raised, or lands so used, be divided among any religious sects or denominations.

“ *Section 2.*—This Article shall not vest, enlarge or diminish legislative power in Congress.”

The proposed Amendment was carried to the Senate, where it lay undisturbed for several months. Meanwhile, certain religionists raised a clamor against it, outside of Congress, that had an effect upon one of the great political parties. The subject seemed to be passing out of the public mind when, on the 7th of August, 1876, Senator Frelinghuysen moved that the joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting the appropriation of any school fund for the support of sectarian schools, etc., be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Substitutes were submitted, and on the 10th of August the Judiciary Committee reported the following substitute :

“ *ARTICLE XVI, Section 1.*—No State shall make any law respecting any establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, and District, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be taught in any school or institution, supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit ; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

“ This Article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair the rights of property already vested.

“ *Section 2.*—Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to provide for the prevention and punishment of the violation of this Article.”

This proposed amendment, so important in its bearings upon the public welfare—so well calculated to secure our public schools and other methods for the intellectual training of the young from the malign influence of theological sectarianism, and to increase more and more the wholesome

separation of Church and State, was defeated by a strict party vote—twenty-eight republicans to sixteen democrats—the votes of two-thirds of the members of the Senate present being necessary to carry the measure. A week later Congress adjourned. Among the more important acts of the session was one in which the Government took the initial step in the direction of the resumption of specie payments by authorizing the issue, from the Mint, of \$10,000,000 of silver coin to take the place of the same amount of fractional paper currency. The bill provided that the Treasury might buy \$20,000,000 of bullion at the rate of not exceeding \$200,000 a month, to be issued in coin at the same rate, if required. It also contained propositions for making silver coin a legal tender, but these were stricken out, except an allowance of not more than five dollars in silver, as a legal tender, in any one payment. This bill became a law late in July, 1876. The consequence was that, within a year, nearly every vestige of the fractional paper currency disappeared from circulation, and silver coin became excessively plentiful. At the extraordinary session of Congress called in October, 1877, for the purpose of providing for the deficiency of money necessary for the public service, a bill making silver coin a legal tender equally with gold, was passed by the House of Representatives. What its fate may be in the Senate was undetermined, when this record was closed on the first of December, 1877.

We have observed that 1876 was a "Presidential year" as well as a "Centennial year." The campaign for the prize of the Presidency of the Republic was vigorously begun at the middle of June, when a Republican National Convention assembled (June 16) at Cincinnati, to make nominations for President and Vice-President. There were two prominent candidates before the Convention, James G. Blaine of Maine, and Roscoe Conkling of New York. They were both rejected, and the Convention nominated Rutherford Birchard Hayes, at that time governor of Ohio, for the Presidency, and William A. Wheeler of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. On the 27th of the same month a Democratic National Convention assembled at St. Louis for the same purpose, and nominated Samuel J. Tilden (then governor) of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. A most exciting canvass ensued, during which the lawlessness that disturbed portions of some of the Southern States, was reproduced with increased vehemence, and at times local civil war seemed to be inevitable.

In South Carolina bands of lawless armed men, countenanced by some of the leading politicians, patrolled the election districts in that State for the purpose of intimidating their political opponents and keeping them from the polls. They dispersed political gatherings and silenced public speakers

by their presence and threats. It became evident that the majority of the citizens of that State would be deprived of the privilege of the elective franchise at the approaching election, and on the 17th of October (1876) President Grant issued a proclamation commanding the "rifle clubs" of South Carolina to disperse within three days. On the same day the Secretary of War issued an order to the General-in-Chief to direct all of the available forces in the Military Division of the Atlantic, to report to the commanding general at the State capital of South Carolina, to carry into effect the President's proclamation.

The result of the Presidential election was long in doubt, each party claiming a majority for its candidate. One hundred and eighty-five votes in the electoral college was necessary to the success of a candidate. It was decided, immediately after the election, that Mr. Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four. Democratic Presidential Electors had been chosen in three Northern States—New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; in one of the Western States—Indiana; and in all the Southern States except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Republican Electors had been chosen in six Northern States—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont; in eleven Western States—California, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin; and in one Southern State—South Carolina—giving Hayes 173 votes.

Then ensued a long, bitter, and sometimes violent contest in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, over the official returns of the elections. Each party charged the other with fraud or intended fraud, in making up these returns. There was the wildest excitement in the Gulf region, and there was much agitation and anxiety at the North and West. To preserve order and secure fair play, President Grant issued the following orders on the 10th of November (1876) to General Sherman (the General-in-Chief) from Philadelphia, where he was temporarily sojourning:

"Instruct General Auger in Louisiana, and General Ruger in Florida, to be vigilant with the forces at their command to preserve peace and good order, and to see that the proper and legal Boards of Canvassers are unmolested in the performance of their duties. Should there be any grounds of suspicion of fraudulent count on either side, it should be reported and denounced at once. No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country cannot afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns."

This was immediately succeeded by the following order to the general :

“ Send all the troops to General Auger he may deem necessary to ensure entire quiet and a peaceful count of the ballots actually cast. They may be taken from South Carolina, unless there is reason to suspect an outbreak. The presence of citizens from other States, I understand, is requested in Louisiana to see that the Board of Canvassers make a fair count of the vote actually cast. It is to be hoped that the representative and fair men of both parties will go.”

The President's hopes were realized. He appointed distinguished gentlemen of both parties to go to Louisiana and also to Florida, to be present at the reception of the returns and the counting of the votes. They accepted the appointment, and they were acceptable to the respective parties. The duties prescribed were faithfully performed, and their report was presented to Congress, with a message from the President, on the 7th of December.

Meanwhile the Forty-fourth Congress had assembled in second session. There was a majority of Democrats in the House of Representatives, and Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was chosen Speaker. Almost the first business of the session was the adoption, in the Senate, of a resolution devolving upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections the duty of inquiring whether, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, the right of any portion of the citizens to vote had been denied or abridged, the extent to which and the means by which it had been accomplished, and by what authority. On the 4th of December the House adopted a resolution, providing for the investigation of the action of the returning or canvassing boards in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and this action was speedily followed by the report of the Committee of Observation, that was sent in by the President. That report defended the action of the Louisiana returning board, in excluding votes in certain parishes (wherein intimidation had been practised), and a majority of the votes of that State were given to the Republican candidates. The House, on the 12th of December, ordered the report of the Democratic committee that witnessed the canvass in Louisiana to be printed.

In the meantime the returning board of Louisiana had declared (December 5) that the Republican electoral ticket, in that State, was chosen by a majority of over four thousand; and on the following day (December 6) the electoral vote in all the colleges was cast. In South Carolina and Oregon both Democratic and Republican electors met and voted; and in the latter State the governor, on the ground of the ineligi-

bility of one of the Republican electors that had been chosen, assumed the election of the Democratic elector having the next highest number of votes, and gave him a certificate.

Thoughtful men foresaw much trouble at the final counting of the votes of the Electoral College by the President of the Senate, according to the provisions of the Constitution, for already the question had arisen as to his absolute power in the matter. Each party persistently claimed the prize of the Presidency, when returning boards in the doubtful States had decided that Mr. Hayes had one hundred and eighty-five electoral votes, and Mr. Tilden one hundred and eighty-four. To prevent serious difficulty, plans were offered. On the 5th of December, Senator Edmunds offered in the Senate an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the counting and declaration of the electoral vote by the Supreme Court of the United States. It was defeated. On the 14th, Proctor Knott (a Democrat), from the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, reported a resolution (as a substitute for one previously offered) that a committee of seven members, to be appointed by the Speaker, to act in conjunction with any similar committee that may be appointed by the Senate, to prepare and report such a measure, either legislative or constitutional, as may, in their judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the end proposed, namely, that the electoral votes may be counted and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority no one can question, and whose decision all will accept as final. This resolution was adopted without a division. On the 18th, the Senate voted in favor of a committee to act with that appointed by the House.

On the 18th of January, 1877, the joint committee reported. That committee consisted of fourteen members, as we have seen—seven of each party—namely, Senators Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Morton and Conkling, and Representatives McCrary, Hoar and Willard, Republicans; and Senators Thurman, Bayard and Ransom, and Representatives Payne, Hewitt, Hunter and Springer, Democrats. The report was signed by all the committee, except Senator Morton. They presented a bill that provided for the meeting of both Houses in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the 1st of February, 1877. Two tellers, to have been previously appointed by each House, to whom should be handed, as they were opened by the President of the Senate, all the certificates and papers purporting to be certificates of electoral votes; these to be opened, presented, and acted upon in the alphabetical order of the States. When there should be a single return from a State, and an objection thereto, with its ground, should be made in writing, and signed by at least one Senator and one Representative, the two Houses should separately decide upon such objection or objections,

the vote to be rejected only by the affirmative vote of the two Houses. In the cases of more than one return from a State, all such returns, having been read by the tellers, should be, upon objection being made, submitted to the judgment and decision as to which is the true and lawful electoral vote of the State, of a Commission of fifteen, to be composed of five members from each House, to be appointed *viva voce*, January 30, with five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, four of these Justices being those of the First, Third, Eighth and Ninth Circuits, who should, on January 30, select another of the Associate Justices of the same Court; the entire Commission to be presided over by the Associate Justice longest in commission. Each of the members of the Commission to take an oath to consider the questions submitted, and to give a true judgment thereon agreeably to the Constitution and the laws. The decision of the Commission, or a majority thereof, to be made in writing, signed by the assenting members, and submitted to Congress; and this decision, having been entered in the journal of each House, must be final, unless overruled by the action of both Houses. This is a brief summary of the bill.

After much debate, this bill was passed by both Houses—in the House of Representatives on the 26th of January, by a vote of *one hundred and ninety-one to eighty-six*; in the Senate, on the previous day, by a vote of *forty-seven to seventeen*. The opposition to the bill proceeded mainly from prominent Republicans, both in debate and in the vote. There was only one Democratic vote against the bill, in the Senate. It was signed by the President on the 29th of January, and on the 30th the two Houses elected five members each, to serve on the Electoral Commission. On the following day, a communication was received by both Houses from the four Associate Justices named in the bill—Clifford, Miller, Field and Strong—announcing that they had chosen as the fifth member of Associate Justices, Joseph P. Bradley.

The joint Electoral Commission assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives on the 1st of February, 1877. The President of the Senate proceeded to open the certificates of the several States, in their alphabetical order. The votes from six States having been counted, that of Florida was reached, from which State there were three certificates that, under the provisions of the Electoral Bill, were submitted to the Electoral Commission. Two questions were then raised in the Commission: First, whether evidence should be admitted going back of the State returns; and second, as to the eligibility of F. C. Humphreys, one of the electors. After these questions were fully debated by counsel on both sides, the first was decided in the negative; and after receiving evidence concerning Mr. Humphreys, the

Commission decided to report Florida for Hayes and Wheeler. On the reception of this report in joint convention, objection having been offered, in due form, the two Houses separated. Reassembling on the 12th of February, and not concurring in the objection to the decision of the Commission, the vote of Florida was counted for Hayes and Wheeler.

The count then proceeded until the double returns from Louisiana were presented, when these, also, were referred to the Commission. That body reached a decision on the 16th of February. It was the same, and was sus-



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

tained by the same vote as in the case of Florida. On the 20th, the vote of Louisiana was, in joint convention, recorded for Hayes and Wheeler, and the count proceeded until it reached the vote of Michigan, to which objection was made, but not being sustained by both Houses, the count proceeded. When that of Nevada was reached, objection was made, but was not sustained. Oregon was reached, in the count, on the 21st, and the returns from that State went to the Commission. On the 24th, Oregon was counted for Hayes and Wheeler. The counting was completed on the 2d of March, when the President of the Senate announced that Rutherford B. Hayes was

elected President of the Republic, and William A. Wheeler was elected Vice-President. On Saturday, the 3d day of March, the Forty-fourth Congress finally adjourned.

The 4th of March—the day prescribed for the inauguration of a new President of the United States—falling on Sunday, Mr. Hayes, to prevent any technical objections that might be raised, privately took the oath of office on that day, and on Monday, the 5th, he was publicly inaugurated in the presence of a vast concourse of well-behaved people, at the usual place, on the east front of the Capitol. The oath was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. In his inaugural address that followed, the new President substantially repeated the promises which he made in his letter of acceptance of the nomination. He did not definitely announce any line of policy to be pursued, but he plainly indicated that it would be conciliatory toward the late slave-labor States wherein rebellion had existed. Already President Grant had appeared to question the wisdom of the policy of sustaining Southern State governments by military force, and the new President entered into careful inquiries concerning the matter.

A special session of the Senate was opened on the day of the public inauguration, and received and confirmed the following cabinet nominations from President Hayes: William M. Evarts of New York, for Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles Devens of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

The political situation in Louisiana—both parties claiming the right of the respective magistrates chosen by them to govern the State—was made the special subject for discussion in President Hayes's cabinet on the 20th and 21st of March, when it was decided to send a commission to that State to investigate the matter. There were two rival claimants to the governorship of the State, and each party declared that its own chosen officers were legally elected. There was a similar state of affairs in South Carolina and the President sought diligently for the truth and right. The opponents of the late administration declared their readiness to submit to law and justice, and promised obedience and loyalty in the event of the removal of United States troops, the presence of which they regarded as a menace, and as a restraint upon the free action which every citizen has a right to exercise.

Upon the report of the commission sent to the South, the President resolved to trust the promises of the opposition in both Louisiana and South Carolina, and removed from them the restraints of military force. A salu-

tary result was soon perceived, in an improved tone of public feeling there; and although that policy of conciliation is yet (December, 1877) an experiment, there are abundant evidences of its beneficence and success in re-establishing a brotherhood of feeling between the people of the North and the South to which they have long been strangers. Such an object is worth striving for; and if the experiment shall fail, it will fail in a good cause. This measure, and a reform in the civil service of the Republic, were the most conspicuous features of the public policy of the Administration. The most essential feature of that civil service reform may be found in the following circular letter addressed, by President Hayes, to all the Government office-holders on the 22d of June, 1877:

“SIR:—I desire to call your attention to the following paragraph in a letter addressed by me to the Secretary of the Treasury on the conduct to be observed by officers of the General Government in relation to the elections: ‘No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed.’ This rule is applicable to every department of the civil service. It should be understood by every officer of the General Government that he is expected to conform his conduct to its requirements.”

This rule, strictly adhered to, would not only relieve office-holders of an enormous burden of taxation for partisan ends, but seal up, in a large degree, a prodigious fountain of official corruption and favoritism that has threatened, at times, to overwhelm our liberties and drown our free institutions.

The subject of the Presidency occupied so much of the time and attention of the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, that at its adjournment there was left a great deal of unfinished important business. There was, toward the last, so much factious opposition to the outgoing and incoming Administration, that Congress failed to pass important appropriation bills, and this neglect caused the necessity for calling an extraordinary session of the Forty-fifth Congress, to provide means for carrying on the Government. It was thought proper, at first, to have a summer session, but prudential reasons forbade it, and on the 5th of May (1877) the President issued a proclamation calling a session in October. When Congress met on the 15th

of that month, the President in a message stated the object of their meeting, which was simply to make appropriations to supply money deficiencies; he presented a list of estimates of the amount needed, which aggregated about \$37,000,000. It was expected that the session would be short, and it would have been, had only its legitimate business been attended to; but other subjects engaged the attention of members. The deficiency bills were delayed, and the extraordinary session was prolonged until the time for the opening of the regular session, on the 3d of December.

During the summer of 1877, our Government engaged in a war with the Nez Percé (Pierced-Nose) Indians, in Idaho. It was not only a blunder, but a crime, on the part of the United States. The story, briefly told, is as follows:

The explorers of the Continent from the Mississippi River toward the Pacific Ocean, whom President Jefferson sent out in 1803, discovered the tribe of savages, in what is now the Territory of Idaho, called the Nez Percé Indians. They were friendly to the explorers, and from that time until recently they have been the unwavering friends of the white man. They were organized, as most of the tribes have been west of the Rocky Mountains, into bands, but had no general chief. About twenty-five years ago, an Indian agent—one of a class of men who have done much to create discontent among the Indians—forced upon them a grand chief, whose principal recommendation was that he could speak English (which he had learned at a mission station), and could be controlled by the Government representative. From that time there was discontent among the Nez Percés. They waited patiently for the chief to die, that they might again enjoy their old political system. But he was succeeded by another English-speaking chief, who was chosen in opposition to "Joseph," a member of one of the most illustrious families of the tribe. He was the father of Joseph, the leader of the band with whom our Government troops lately engaged in war. Old Joseph withdrew, in disgust, from the councils of the Nez Percés, but claimed the chieftaincy, if there was to be one.

From time immemorial, the dwelling-place of the Nez Percé Indians has been the beautiful Wallowa Valley, distinguished for its wealth of roots and fishing, as it now is for its abundant pasturage. Here begins the old, old story of the wrongs of the Indians. White people began to settle among the Nez Percés; and when they thought they were strong enough, they devised measures to dispossess these friendly barbarians of their beautiful valley. In this nefarious work the United States Government participated. From 1858 to 1868, several treaties were made with portions of the Nez Percés, by which they were provided with a reservation, and annuities from

the public treasury, in lieu of their lands. It was a mild and seemingly harmless way of dispossession. Old Joseph and his band refused to go upon the reservation, and remained in their ancestral home in the Wallowa Valley. So also did others of the non-treaty Indians (as those who were not parties to the treaty were called), for they claimed that the rest of their tribe had no right to alienate their lands.

Old Joseph died in 1871, and left his son Joseph at the head of his band. He, like his father, denied the right of a portion of his tribe to give up their lands. Neither he nor his father had signed a treaty to that effect, and if they had, Government agents had so violated it, that even those who did sign it had a just claim to re-enter. Joseph might have claimed a larger tract, but he wished to occupy only the Wallowa Valley.

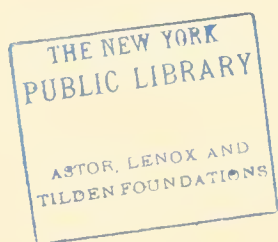
Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Valley. Finally settlers began to encroach on the lands of the non-treaty Indians, which President Grant endeavored to prevent, by an order in June, 1873, that their possessions should "be withheld from entry and settlement as public lands, and that the same should be set apart as a reservation for the roaming Nez Percé Indians." Under this order Joseph and his band continued to occupy the Wallowa Valley in peace, until 1875, when President Grant was induced to issue another order, summarily revoking the first, and saying: "The said described tract of country is hereby restored to the public domain." White settlers now felt free to enter the Wallowa Valley, and they began to crowd the Nez Percés. The latter remonstrated, when they were peremptorily ordered to go upon the reservation. To their pleadings against the injustice, the reply of the Government was the gathering of troops to drive them from their lands into enforced exile. This meant war, if necessary to complete the cruel wrong.

About one year ago, General O. O. Howard, in command of the Department of the Columbia, in his report to the Secretary of War, referred to the discontent of the Nez Percés and the righteousness of Joseph's claim to the Wallowa Valley, and implored the Government to send a commission there to "settle the whole matter before war was even thought of. The Nez Percés," he said, "have never been, up to the present time, hostile to our people." But the Government did not heed General Howard's wise and humane suggestions; and Joseph, who had held back for months from a resort to hostilities, to which he and his band were reluctant to engage in, at length, just before the time fixed for driving him from the home of his fathers, and seeing the soldiers preparing to invade his domain, he plunged into war. The country was startled by the announcement in the newspapers that "a serious Indian outbreak began in Idaho, about the middle of June



From a war-time photograph by Brady By permission of the U. S. Government

MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES



(1877), when the savages of White Bird's and Joseph's bands murdered a score of settlers fifty miles east of Fort Lapwai. Captain Perry, who was sent against them, was severely repulsed. General O. O. Howard, making a forced march, came upon the Indians at the mouth of the Cottonwood, July 12, and, after an engagement in which eleven of his men were killed and twenty-four were wounded, shelled them from their position and put them to flight. On the 10th of July, Joseph's band had massacred thirty Chinamen on the Clearwater River."

Then followed the usual events that mark the wars of our Government with the Indians—slaughter on both sides, and final defeat of the barbarians, for the odds are generally fearfully against them. The distressing war continued from June until the second month of the autumn of 1877, when, on the 5th of October, Joseph and his band surrendered to the victorious General Nelson A. Miles, at Eagle Creek, Montana Territory. In a speech made at the time of his surrender, equal in pathos to that of Logan, the Mingo chief (see page 747), Joseph said to General Miles: "Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have it in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking-Glass is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and see how many of them I can find. May be I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I shall fight no more forever."

This war has embittered the feelings of the friendly Nez Percés against the white people, and planted the fruitful seeds of future troubles. In its origin and purpose, on our part, it was a "gigantic blunder and crime."

After the destruction of Custer and his command by the Sioux under Sitting Bull, recorded in a preceding chapter, that leader and his followers fled northward into the British possessions, where he remained sullen and revengeful for more than four years. The United States Government appointed a commission to confer with him in his retreat to make arrangements for securing peace and friendship with the hostile tribe. General A. H. Terry, Commander of the Military Department in the Northwest, was placed at the head of the commission, and on hearing of the surrender of the Nez Percés, and considering it a favorable time to negotiate, they started for the rendezvous of Sitting Bull, near Fort Walsh. There they met him on the 17th of October, 1877. He and his chiefs rejected with scorn the proposals for peace made by the commission, and the latter returned. Then the British authorities gave Sitting Bull notice that if he should attempt to cross

the border with hostile intentions, the British as well as the Americans would be his enemies. There he remained until late in 1880 nursing his wrath. Then perceiving longer resistance to be hopeless, and his followers experiencing great misery, he showed willingness to treat with the United States authorities for the return of the fugitives. Still there was delay. Early in 1881 about one thousand of Sitting Bull's followers surrendered; but the wily chief, fearful of peril to his life or liberty, did not give himself up till late in the summer.

So it is, that the Indian has appeared conspicuously in our history, at every period, from the time when Europeans first trod the virgin soil of this new-found Western World, until now. His race is fading. Perhaps in another century it may disappear, and become a thing of the buried past.

In future years, the son of a dusky exile, coming from the far-off borders of the Slave Lake, may be gazed at in a city street at the mouth of the Yellowstone with as much wonder as the Oneida woman, with her blue cloth blanket and bead-work merchandise, is now, in the city of New York. Even now these barbarians may chant in sorrow :

“ We, the rightful lords of yore,
Are the rightful lords no more ;
Like the silver mist, we fail,
Like the red leaves on the gale,—
Fail, like shadows, when the dawning
Waves the bright flag of the morning ”

Or

“ I will weep for a season, in bitterness fed,
For my kindred are gone to the hills of the dead ;
But they died not of hunger, or lingering decay—
The hand of the white man hath swept them away ! ”



CHAPTER CXL.

The Bland Silver Bill—Yellow Fever—Resumption of Specie Payments—The Chinese—Failure to Pass Appropriation Bills—Negro Exodus—Outbreak of the Utes—A Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution Proposed—Nominations and Elections in 1880—New Apportionment—New Funding Bill Vetoed—The Public Debt—Population in 1880—Inter-Oceanic Canal—Inauguration of President Garfield and Vice-President Arthur—Assassination of President Garfield—Chester A. Arthur Becomes President—Trial of the Assassin Guiteau—Changes in the Cabinet—State of the Country.

AT the first regular session of the Forty-fifth Congress, a bill known as the "Bland Silver Bill" was passed, on the 21st of February, 1878. The President returned it to the House of Representatives on February 28th, with his objections; but, on the same day, it was passed by both Houses over his veto, and it became a law. It provided for the coinage of silver dollars of the weight of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and that the rate of coinage should be at least \$2,000,000 a month, and not more than \$4,000,000. That coinage has gone on at the minimum rate, and now (1885) the vaults of the United States Treasury are overloaded with silver coin.

During the summer and fall of 1878 the yellow fever prevailed as a fearful epidemic in the region of the Lower Mississippi River from Memphis to New Orleans. In his annual Message to Congress the President called the attention of that body to the necessity for investigating the causes of the epidemic; and on the 5th of December the Senate appointed a committee to act in the matter, with one from the House of Representatives, and appropriated \$50,000.

On the first of January, 1879, a most important event occurred—it was the resumption of specie payments by the National Government and the Banks, after a suspension of about eighteen years. There was very strong and persistent opposition to the measure on the part of the opponents of the administration, and efforts were made in Congress to defeat it. The author-

zation of the circulation of silver coin by Act of Congress, in January, 1875, prepared the way for resumption. As the time approached for resumption, the opponents became louder prophets of evil. They predicted greater prostration of business, and the impossibility of meeting the enormous demand for coin on the day fixed for resumption, and afterwards. The premium on gold, however, continually diminished, and paper money was at par value in December, 1878. For some weeks private business houses had been paying out gold. Notwithstanding these indications, the Government Sub-Treasuries and the Banks employed an increased clerical force to assist in the labors of the first of January. These clerks were not needed. At the closing hour the Banks had more gold in their vaults than at the opening. Resumption had been imperceptibly effected. Its salutary influence was immediately felt. From the first day of resumption, business began to revive, and the tide of prosperity throughout the whole country has continued to rise higher and higher.

On the Pacific Coast a strong prejudice against the Chinese immigrants had been created, chiefly by other foreign-born persons, because of their alleged monopoly of labor at reduced prices. The matter was brought to the attention of Congress, and a bill to restrict Chinese immigration passed both Houses in the winter of 1879. It restricted the number of Chinese passengers in one voyage to fifteen. The President vetoed the bill.

The opposition majority in Congress resolved to defeat, by means of legislation, the operations of the law authorizing the use of United States troops to keep the peace at the polls where candidates for National offices were to be voted for. The employment of United States Marshals for the same purpose was also opposed. The method resorted to for effecting their purpose caused very exciting debates in Congress. They burdened every appropriation bill with a "rider," or conditions requiring that United States troops should not be allowed at any election in any State, and that the Marshals should not interfere in any elections. So persistent were the opposition members in their methods, that they seemed determined to clog the wheels of Government unless their measures were adopted. The Forty-fifth Congress expired without passing the usual appropriation bills, and this failure in duty caused the necessity for calling a session of the Forty-sixth Congress. They were summoned to meet on March 18, 1879. They did so, and passed appropriation bills with obnoxious "riders," which were vetoed by the President. This extraordinary session lasted until July 1st. Failing to pass the vetoed bills over the President's veto, they were shorn of their obnoxious appendages, and were passed and approved by the President.

There was a remarkable and comparatively sudden exodus of colored people from the States on the Lower Mississippi in 1879. The reason for the movement was alleged to be a denial of the exercise of civil rights to the negroes, to which they had a constitutional right, and their oppressions in various ways at the hands of the white people. The earlier emigrants and the larger number went to Kansas. Later a considerable number went to Indiana. A committee was appointed by the Senate to investigate the causes of the movement. Their report was not very satisfactory. They declared that the causes were partly political and partly pecuniary.

There was a sudden outbreak of hostility to the white people by the Ute tribe of Indians in Colorado in the early autumn of 1879. The movement was fierce and desperate, and created great alarm throughout a considerable portion of this new State. The barbarians murdered N. C. Meeker, the Indian agent at White River. Major Thornburgh, of the United States Army, was sent with a force to suppress the hostile movement; and in a battle with the Utes at Milk Creek, on September 29th, he and ten of his command were slain. For six days the rest of his force were surrounded by Indians, but being intrenched it held out until succor arrived. The outbreak ended almost as suddenly as it was begun.

The subject of the equality of men and women in law and society as well as in nature, is engaging the attention of statesmen, publicists, and the people generally, more and more as the years move on. The chief topic of discussion now is the conferring upon women the right to exercise the elective franchise. In some States this has been done in a slight degree. The most significant action yet taken in the matter was the introduction in both Houses of Congress, in January, 1880, of the following joint resolution proposing a Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution:

“ARTICLE 16. — The right of suffrage in the United States shall be based on citizenship, and the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex, or for any reason not really applicable to all citizens of the United States.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

The year 1880 was the “Presidential year,” and both the great political parties as well as smaller organizations, began early to make preparations for the quadrennial contest for the coveted prize of the Presidency of the Republic. In the month of June the several political parties each held a National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-Presi-

dent of the United States. In this movement the Republican party first appeared. Its chosen representatives assembled in convention at Chicago, Illinois, on June 2d, 1880. They nominated James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester Allan Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic. The National ("Greenback") Party held a convention at Chicago on the 9th of June, 1880, and nominated John B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and Benjamin J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President. This ticket had a large following in the Labor Party. The Prohibition National Convention assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 17, 1880, and nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, for President, and A. H. Thompson, of Ohio, for Vice-President. On June 22d the Democratic National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, and nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of the United States Army, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. There were also Anti-Masonic candidates for President and Vice-President. General John W. Phelps, of Vermont, was named for the office of President, and G. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for Vice-President.

The Republican and Democratic parties, the only hopeful contestants in the field, made an energetic struggle for the prize from June until November. The Republican platform adopted at Chicago affirmed that the National Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that out of a league of States it made a sovereign nation: that the work of popular education is left to the several States, but that the National Government should aid that work so far as the Constitution gives it power; that the Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of any religion, and recommended an amendment to the Constitution forbidding any State appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools; that no further grants of the public domain be made to any corporation; that the improvement of water-courses and harbors is a duty belonging to the National Government, but that further subsidies to private persons or corporations should cease; and that judicious laws should be made concerning Chinese immigration. In the preamble to the platform the Convention took a brief retrospective glance at the history of the Republican party during the last twenty years. They said: "Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually over \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have

increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

The Democratic platform declared opposition to centralization of power in the National Government; that Church and State ought to be separate, and common schools fostered and protected; "Home Rule" and honest money should prevail; that a tariff for revenue only should be laid; that the military should be subordinate to the civil power; and that a thorough reform in the civil service should be made. They declared that the administration of President Hayes was "the representative of conspiracy only"; denounced the election laws which provided against violence and fraud at the polls through the watchfulness of United States Marshals; and demanded a reform which "shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people," and in "making places in the civil service a reward for political crime." They declared against monopolies of every kind; and they demanded a revision of the treaty with China, so as to provide that no Chinese should ever come to our shores, "except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded." They concluded the manifesto by saying: "We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditure \$10,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad; and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

After a most exciting canvass and months of anxious suspense endured by earnest men engaged in the conducting of the various industries of the country, the election, in November, 1880, resulted in the choice of James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A. Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic. The result gave a wonderful forward impulse to business of every kind.

During the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, which expired on the 4th of March, 1881, the most important business transacted, excepting the passage of the usual appropriation bills, was the adoption of a bill by the Senate providing for a new apportionment of Congressional representation under the census of 1880, and a new refunding bill by both Houses. The first-named bill increases the number of members of the House of Representatives from 293 to 319. The ratio is increased 131,425 under the census of 1870, to 154,767 under the census of 1880. The House of Representatives did not act upon this bill.

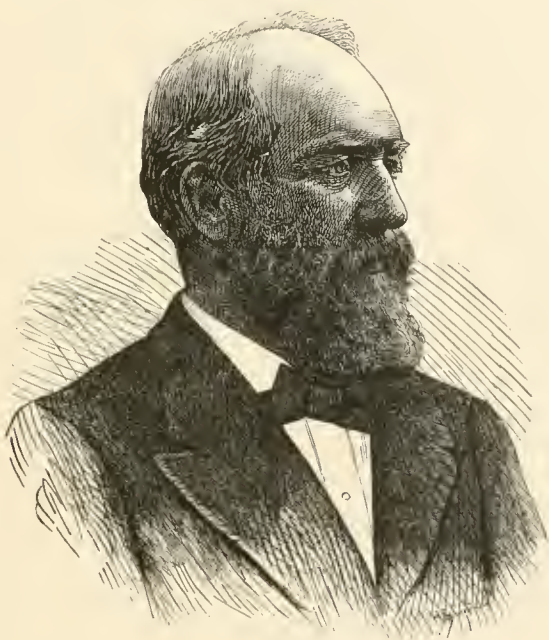
The new funding bill fixed the rate of interest at three per cent. a year. One section of the bill was regarded as so hostile to the interests of the National Banks, which are closely allied to the business interests of the country of every kind, and so perilous to the advancing prosperity of the Nation, that the President, on the 3d of March, 1881, vetoed it, and no further action on the subject was taken.

It is conceded by all candid men that the administration of President Hayes was remarkable for the purity of the public service and financial success and prosperity. The public debt at the beginning of his administration was nearly \$2,100,000,000; at its close, the public debt had been reduced \$209,000,000. Not many years ago, the Government of the United States found great difficulty in borrowing so small a sum as \$25,000,000, and for a considerable portion of it was compelled to pay as high as 12 per cent. a year. In the spring of 1879 the Government found no difficulty in borrowing (otherwise refunding) \$225,000,000 at 4 per cent. In one month \$500,000,000 was offered at 4 per cent. And so high was the credit of the National Government at the beginning of 1881 that these 4 per cent. bonds were sold at a considerable premium.

The population of the United States is rapidly increasing. At the census of 1870, the total population of the States and Territories was a little more than 38,558,000, in 1880 it was more than 50,000,000. At the port of New York alone there arrived during 1880 the enormous number of 320,808 emigrants, the largest number in one year since the Emigration Commission was established in 1847. It is estimated that each emigrant adds to the capital of the country, besides the cash he brings with him, about \$800. Our total population is to-day 81,752,000. The products of our agriculture, manufactures, and mines have enormously increased.

The project of an inter-oceanic canal to connect the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, had been powerfully revived by the organization at Paris of an International Company for the construction of such a canal. The chief actor in the movement was M. de Lesseps, who constructed the Suez Canal at a cost of \$60,000,000. He came to the United States at the beginning of 1880 to promote the project. He visited Panama, decided that the construction of a canal across the isthmus there was feasible, and for a time pushed the enterprise with great vigor. He estimated the entire cost of the work at \$102,400,000, and promised that it would be completed in 1888. The United States Government, as we have seen, had had a similar project under consideration for many years. Surveys of routes across the isthmus had been made and estimates of cost submitted. It was the movement of Lesseps which probably stimulated the people of the United States to an

appreciation of the necessity of communication across the great isthmus somewhere, either by a ship canal or ship-railway. Our national policy is against such a communication controlled by any foreign government or governments. Actuated by the spirit of the Monroe doctrine the President represented public sentiment in the United States, when, on the 8th of March, 1880, he sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that it is the duty of the United States Government to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over the enterprise as will protect our National interests.



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

On the 29th of February, 1881, President-elect Garfield left his home at Mentor, Ohio, for Washington City. He was accompanied by his family—his aged mother, eighty years old, his wife, and his two young sons. He made a short, parting address at the railway-station, which he concluded with the words: "What awaits me I cannot now speak of; but I shall carry to the discharge of the duties that lie before me, to the problems and dangers I may meet, a sense of your confidence and your love, which will always be answered by my gratitude. Neighbors, friends, constituents—farewell!"

Many friends accompanied General Garfield on his journey. He reached Washington on the morning of March 1st, where he was met by a committee

and taken to his quarters. His aged mother was conveyed to the President's house, where the room she was to occupy was assigned her by Mrs. Hayes, whose guest she remained until after the inauguration, which event occurred on Friday, March 4, with imposing ceremonies.

Considerable snow had fallen in Washington City on the night of March 3d and 4th; but the sun shone so brightly during the forenoon of the 4th that it was all gone by noon. At the proper hour, General Arthur, the Vice-President elect, was installed in office in the Hall of the United States Senate in the presence of a brilliant assemblage of the National law-makers and foreign ministers. From that room the whole company proceeded to a platform at the eastern front of the Capitol, where the inaugural ceremony was to take place. The President and President-elect walked arm-in-arm to their assigned positions. Near them were seated together Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Garfield. By the side of Mrs. Hayes was the venerable mother of the President-elect, to whom he owed so much for his success through life. At least 50,000 people were gathered to observe the imposing spectacle. In a clear, ringing voice, that might be heard by thousands of the mass of listeners, he delivered his inaugural address to the multitude, and the usual oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Waite. Then the vast crowd dispersed, and the new President and his family were driven to the "White House," as the Presidential mansion is termed, and took possession.

President Hayes had issued a proclamation convening the Senate, in special executive session, on the afternoon of the 4th of March, to receive and act upon the nominations of Cabinet ministers which the new President might make. These were sent in the next day, and the nominations were immediately confirmed without debate. They were as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of President Lincoln; for Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; for Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; for Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York; for Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania.

Subsequent nominations sent in to the Senate for confirmation were not so well received. With regard to one of them, the nomination of Judge Robertson to the important office of Collector of Customs at New York, great efforts were made by Senator Conkling of New York and the wing of the Republican party which acknowledged him as its leader, to procure its rejection. The cause of this hostility to this particular candidate can be traced back to the events which led to the nomination of Garfield as the Presidential candidate of the Republicans at the Chicago Convention. At that

meeting, a powerful and compact body, headed by Conkling of New York, Logan of Illinois, and Cameron of Pennsylvania, voted with unswerving pertinacity for the nomination of General Grant for a third term. In number, the votes given for General Grant far exceeded those given for Mr. Blaine, or for Mr. Sherman, but did not reach the two-thirds which were necessary for a nomination. In the New York delegation there was discord and division. An active minority refused to accept the unit rule, and to follow the lead of Conkling. This defection was chiefly due to the influence and exertions of Judge Robertson. He was, therefore, regarded by the so-called Stalwart wing as a deserter from his party and a traitor to the cause. They argued that if he and the delegates who sympathized with him had voted with the rest of their New York colleagues, the example of the Empire State would have had a powerful effect in silencing hostility elsewhere, that the nomination of Grant would have been assured, and no opportunity could have arisen for the concentration of the Blaine and Sherman votes on the name of Garfield. Judge Robertson may, therefore, be regarded as powerfully contributing to Grant's defeat and to Garfield's triumph. It was natural that the President should seek to place a supporter who had done him such service in a prominent position, and it was equally natural that the Senators whose plans had been baffled and whose ambition had been thwarted by his action should be uncompromising enemies of his appointment to an office of such power as the Collectorship of New York is in our present system of political management. To Senator Conkling the appointment of Judge Robertson was peculiarly unwelcome. He had always held that Federal appointments in a State ought to be made on the recommendation, or at least with the approval of the Senators of the State, and he called upon his fellow Senators to reject the nomination of Judge Robertson, on the ground that the "courtesy of the Senate" had established the principle that the Senate would not confirm any nomination to a Federal office in a State if it were repugnant to the two Senators from the State. A prolonged deadlock in the Senate was the result. The President was reminded that but for the powerful aid given to his canvass by General Grant, Senator Conkling, and the "Stalwarts," his election would have been impossible. He was accused of ingratitude to the men who had really placed him in the Executive Mansion, by rewarding the man who had abandoned them in their struggle. Garfield, however, regarding himself as the President of the whole nation, not of any party in it, or of any wing of a party, steadily refused to withdraw the obnoxious nomination, and the two Senators from New York State, hopeless of carrying their point, adopted the unprecedented step of resigning their seats in the Senate. Senators Conkling and Platt at

once appealed to the Legislature of New York for re-election. The conflict between the two factions was now transferred to Albany, and the war was carried on with unexampled bitterness. The Vice-President, Mr. Arthur, did not think it unbecoming his high office to mingle personally in the fray and exert his influence for the cause of his friend Conkling. But it was in vain. The Senators who had resigned did not succeed in gaining the re-election which would have returned them to the Senate with the endorsement of their State. The fierce political struggle was just terminating, when every heart was stricken with horror at the intelligence of a terrible tragedy. For the second time the elected head of this free people was struck down by the hand of an assassin. On the 2d of July the President was leaving Washington for a brief holiday, during which he was to pass the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with Mr. Cyrus W. Field, near New York, and then to visit Williams College, Massachusetts. In the company of Mr. Blaine and other members of his Cabinet, he was taking his ticket at the railroad station, when the assassin Guiteau shot him in the back with a heavy ball from a pistol called an "English Bulldog." The President fell to the ground, and from the nature of the wound death was regarded as imminent. It is impossible for words to describe the excitement produced by this assassination. In every city of the Union, as soon as the telegraph flashed the sad news, crowds poured into the streets and surged around the telegraph offices, waiting for further intelligence. Everywhere threats against the assassin's life were heard. Before the full effect of the deed was realized, Guiteau had been arrested and conveyed to prison, a circumstance fortunate for our national honor by reserving his punishment to the solemn verdict of justice, instead of leaving it to the passions of an infuriated mob. The assassin made no attempt to escape. He had been a lecturer, a lawyer, a persistent seeker for office of any kind, always a swindler. He boasted of his crime. He was a "Stalwart," he said, and believed that the death of Garfield was the only means of saving the Republican party. Meanwhile, the wounded man was removed to the White House, where, in the language of the legal indictment of his murderer, which has a deep pathos in the words, "he did languish, and languishing did live" till the 19th of September. All that the best surgical skill could do was done, but in vain. The magnificent constitution of the sufferer enabled him to linger, not to recover. While thus slowly dying, his demeanor was throughout manly, with that manliness which touches every heart. "Is the wound mortal?" was the first question he addressed to the surgeons who examined him. "There are," was the straightforward answer, "ninety-nine chances to one against your recovery." "Then," was the brave reply, "I will take that one chance." His chief

anxiety was for his wife, and how she would bear the news. A telegram was sent to her at Elberon, summoning her to Washington. She came to be his nurse and strengthener. To all foreboding of a fatal termination she replied, "He has made up his mind to recover, and he will recover." Her courage was as great as his own. When, after the lapse of a few days, it was seen that the illustrious patient had not succumbed to the shock, as was anticipated, hope grew strong in every breast. Every fluctuation of the pulse, every rise or fall of temperature, was watched with interest by every citizen in our wide extended Union. Operations had to be performed to discharge the purulent secretions from the track of the wound; they were borne with constancy, and the temporary relief they gave inspired the sufferer with new confidence, and the people with new hopes. Baseless hopes and unfounded confidence! The assassin's ball, as it was thereafter proved, had injured the spinal column, and recovery was impossible. The President gradually got weaker. The White House, situated near the swamps of the Potomac, was considered unhealthy, and the opinion spread that Garfield's recovery was kept back by malarial influences. He himself seemed to share this opinion, and longed for change of scene. He wished to be removed to Mentor, his quiet, unpretending home in Ohio. But the distance from Washington to his beloved home was too great for him to bear. As a last resource he was taken to the sea-coast at Elberon. Weeping crowds accompanied the litter on which he was carried out from that Executive Mansion to occupy which has been the aspiration of our best and bravest. The line of railroad by which he passed was bordered by sorrowing multitudes who flocked thither for miles, and a sympathizing throng awaited his arrival. But no voice was heard, no cheer was raised as the sad cortege went on. At Elberon he seemed, for a day or two, to gather strength; he felt himself a new man; he was raised up to see the bright ocean heaving in the sunlight and splashing on the shore. But neither change of place, nor refreshing breezes, were of avail. He was able to sign one official document. The last words he wrote were scribbled on a bit of paper, *Strangulatus pro republica*. The day before his death he said to his old friend Rockwell, "Old boy, do you think my name will have a place in human history?" "Yes, a grand one; but a grander, in human hearts. Old fellow, you must not talk in that way, you have a great work to do." "No," said the dying man, "my work is done."

And then the end. Down to the very last, no murmurs escaped his lips, no regrets at leaving the power and glory of his exalted position, or at the sudden cutting short of his brilliant career. He sank with patient resignation, courageous and uncomplaining, only anxious for her who had borne

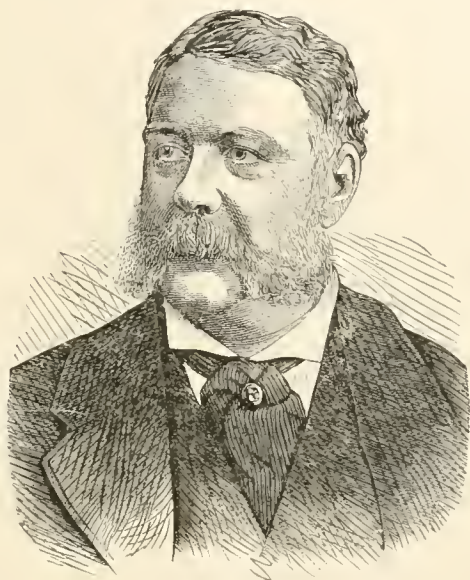
him, and her who had been the bride of his youth, and the true companion of his manhood.

Agonizing as these months of suffering were to the patient, Garfield's long martyrdom was a blessing to the country, for delay gave time for the excitement, which had burned so fiercely at first, to subside, and to give place to calmer thoughts. The deepest sympathy for the sufferer was everywhere felt, and there was no people in the world which did not share the sorrow of this nation when he at last sank into the arms of death. During all his illness, the Queen of England had exhibited the warmest sympathy for the afflicted family, and, a widow herself, was the first to condole with the widow of the President. The court of England set an example followed by the court of Spain, and went into mourning. Kings, emperors, every state, were profuse in their condolences. Still more touching was the regret everywhere expressed by the working classes, who had never forgotten that Garfield had risen from labor and poverty to his high estate, and who regarded his career with fond pride as a proof of what could be achieved in a free country by honesty, industry, and virtue. The President was buried in a spot which he had chosen in the cemetery at Cleveland, and on his coffin reposed a wreath sent by Queen Victoria, and tokens of sorrow from every state and city. We cannot more fitly close our notice of the brief Presidential career of James Abram Garfield than with the lines of the poet which he himself quoted so effectively in reference to the death of Lincoln :

"Divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began,
And on a simple village green,
Who breaks his birth's invidious bars,
And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
And breasts the blows of circumstance,
And grapples with his evil stars ;
Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To moll a mighty State's decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne ;
And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes, on Fortune's crowning slope,
The pillar of a people's hope,
The center of a world's desire."

When Garfield's death was announced, President Arthur at once took the oath of office in his own house at New York, at one o'clock in the morning, and two days afterward repeated it at Washington, in the presence of

the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court and the Cabinet. As usual, the Cabinet tendered their resignations, and were requested to retain office till new appointments could be made.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The year 1881 being the centenary of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, that crowning triumph of the Revolutionary War was celebrated at the spot where it took place. Delegates from the French government were present to commemorate a victory in which the arms of France had borne a conspicuous part, and descendants of Rochambeau, La Fayette, De Grasse, and Villiers, as well as representatives of Von Steuben, met on the field where their ancestors had stood side by side a century before. The celebration was concluded by a ceremony which shows in a striking manner the generosity of our people and its gratitude for the sympathy displayed by the English sovereign during Garfield's illness and at his death. The British flag was hoisted and received a royal salute. A striking token of good will between the two branches of the great Anglo-Saxon race; a good will which it is to be hoped will long continue to promote civilization and bless mankind.

On the fourteenth of November, 1881, the trial of Guiteau for the assassination of President Garfield began in the Court of the District of Colum-

bia. Between the murder and the trial he had been detained in jail, under the guard of some regular troops. But so deep and so wide-spread was the indignation of the people at his dastardly deed, that even his guardians did not escape it, and even one of the sentries of the prison attempted to shoot the wretched criminal through the bars of his cell. During the progress of the trial, another attempt to kill Guiteau was made. The assailant, mounted on a fleet horse, rode up to the cellular van in which the prisoner was being carried from the court-house to the jail, and fired his pistol through one of the windows of the vehicle. In both cases Guiteau received no injury. Judge Cox presided over the trial, the prosecution was conducted by the District Attorney, Corkhill, assisted by Mr. Davidge and Judge Porter, the latter an eminent advocate of New York, who had been conspicuous in the Beecher trial. The evidence of the murder was soon given. The facts were indisputable. The question as to the sanity of the prisoner remained to be discussed. The whole life of the prisoner was dragged to light, and the whole history of his family examined. The prosecution sought to prove inveterate depravity; the defence to establish hereditary insanity. The prisoner was defended by Mr. Scoville, his sister's husband, and in the latter part of the case by Mr. Reed of Chicago. Medical experts from all parts were summoned to testify as to his state of mind, and the conflict of evidence, usual in such case, took place. The weight of evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of his sanity. It was proved that the prisoner had always been of ungovernable temper, that he had been a member of the Oneida Community, that he had been divorced from his wife, and had for years been living by swindling or similar practices. It was shown that he had made preparations for the deed long before its committal with the utmost deliberation. During the trial the conduct of the prisoner was outrageous beyond description. He interrupted alike judge, counsel, and witnesses. The counsel on both sides came in equally for his vituperation. Those in the prosecution were denounced by him as liars, those who were defending him as fools. His brother-in-law, Scoville, was continually assailed in the foulest manner. "I do not want any more of this fool, Scoville," he would cry, "he is too stupid to know what to do." He persistently claimed that he acted by inspiration from on high. "God and I are partners in this. Don't you forget it," he kept exclaiming. He said to the witnesses, "How about Abraham? Tell us something about Abraham's case." As the trial progressed, and as the evidence of his sanity became stronger and stronger, his blasphemy and insolence became more pronounced. "God will take care of me, and so will the American people. You, Porter, are a liar, you old whelp. You and Corkhill will be the top of those down below." Much

blame was expressed in some quarters respecting the conduct of Judge Cox in allowing these violations of public decency. But he exercised a wise discretion. The whole demeanor of the prisoner, as well as his own evidence in chief, showed that he not only was in full possession of his faculties, but that those faculties were of no ordinary degree of cunning. On the 25th of January, 1882, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, amid volleys of blasphemy from the prisoner. An appeal was made, and a new trial demanded. But the demand was rejected, and on the 3d of February Charles J. Guiteau was sentenced to be hung on the 30th of June.

The conduct of the trial is not one of which we have any reason to be proud. The trial for life of the meanest human being should be conducted with decency and dignity. The court at Washington became a show to which the idle and fashionable world crowded as to a farce. The prisoner's ribaldry was received with peals of laughter, the repartees into which the prosecuting advocates allowed themselves to be goaded were followed by cheers, and deafening applause greeted the verdict of the jury. Every Sunday during the trial the prisoner held a levée in his cell. Well-dressed men and women flocked there to shake his hand and ask for his photograph. After the sentence was pronounced, a speculative showman offered Scoville a thousand dollars for Guiteau's body, with the object of embalming it, and exhibiting it through the country, and Scoville was inclined to accept the offer, had not public indignation been expressed too loudly. If a morbid desire of notoriety was one of the causes which urged Guiteau to commit his murderous assault, it has been amply gratified.

The first change in the Cabinet took place in November, 1881, when Mr. Windom resigned the Treasury, and was succeeded by Judge Folger of New York. On the 1st of January, 1882, Mr. James resigned the Postmastership, and was succeeded by Mr. Howe. Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, had, during the illness of Garfield, inaugurated a line of foreign policy which seems calculated to involve the country in sundry complications. He had sent instructions to our Ministers in Peru and Chili which looked to an intervention on the part of the United States to prevent Chili exercising her legitimate rights of conquest. He had proposed in a highly undiplomatic tone the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain respecting the guarantees of an interoceanic canal between the Atlantic and Pacific, and proposed to the Central American Republics the meeting of a convention of delegates from each state to be held at Washington, and to deliberate on their common and mutual interests. The full extent of these negotiations was not known to the public till Mr. Blaine finally left the Cabinet. The new Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey,

modified the instructions given by Mr. Blaine to Messrs. Trescott and Blaine, our special envoys to Peru and Chili, and to the moderation of the views held by him and the President ample evidence is borne by their subsequent acts.

The prosperity of the whole country during the year 1881 was great. An enormous extension of our railway system has taken place. Numerous new lines were constructed, and old lines consolidated. The most important of these are the various lines running westward to the Pacific, and the important scheme of railroads connecting our lines with the most fertile and most rich provinces of the neighboring republic of Mexico. Almost every branch of industry took in those last three years an important step in advance, and the transformation which all our cities are undergoing bears witness to an unparalleled extension of commerce, and an enormous increase in our national wealth. The immigration also was of unparalleled magnitude, amounting in the year 1881 to 716,868 souls. The commerce of the country also exhibited a steady increase. In 1861 the exports were \$219,553,833; the imports \$289,310,542. In 1881 the exports were \$902,377,346; the imports \$642,664,628, or a total of foreign commercial movement during the year of \$1,545,041,974.

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